

Reverend
The present of Mr. Archdeacon
Blackburne

OCCASIONAL REMARKS

Upon some late STRICTURES ON

THE CONFSSIONAL.

P A R T II.

[Price Three Shillings and Six Pence, sewed.]

T E S T I M O N I E S.

“ THE greatest part of those they call ZEALOTS, fear no-
 “ thing more than the orthodoxy of those they accuse.—
 “ They would have the person they have once accused apo-
 “ statise in good earnest; and are angry that he does not go
 “ over to the enemy’s party to make good their accu-
 “ sations.” BAYLE.

“ THIS is one of the most cunning and common touches
 “ of the ODIUM THEOLOGICUM. They who are at a loss
 “ to answer the objections raised against the common doc-
 “ trines, fall upon the PERSONS who propose the objec-
 “ tions. They brand them as so many false brothers,
 “ who are in league with the adversaries, and only re-
 “ tain the outward profession of orthodoxy, to enable them
 “ to do the greater execution.” *Idem.*

“ At ultimi nepotes,
 “ Et cordatior ætas,
 “ Judicia rebus æquiora, forsitan,
 “ Adhibebit integro finu.
 “ Tum, livore sepulto,
 “ Si quid meremur, sana posteritas sciet.” MILTON.

Errata

Pag. 2. Line 10.th from the Bottom
for, true Inquiry, read, free Inquiry

Pag. 11. Line 7.th from the Bottom,
for, instructions, read, instruction

Pag. 33. Line 9.th from the Bottom
for, seemed, read, seem

Pag. 55. Line 11.th
for, those, read, these.

Pag. 74. 2^d. Paragraph. Line. 1.
for, Observatur, read, Obversatur.

Pag. 78. Line 4. from the Bottom
read, of its Ceremonies.

Pag. 97. Line 11.th from the Bottom
read, ~~to the holy~~ to the Religion.

Pag. 115. last Line of the 2^d Paragraph
read, in the best sense of δηοκρεια

Page. 146. last line of y. 2^d Paragraph.
^{in ecclesiastical}
read, Episcopal Church of England.

Page. 188. line 1. of the note n.
put a comma after Suasisse,

Page. 206. line 6th of the note,
read, de hominibus, nomine saltem, christianis.

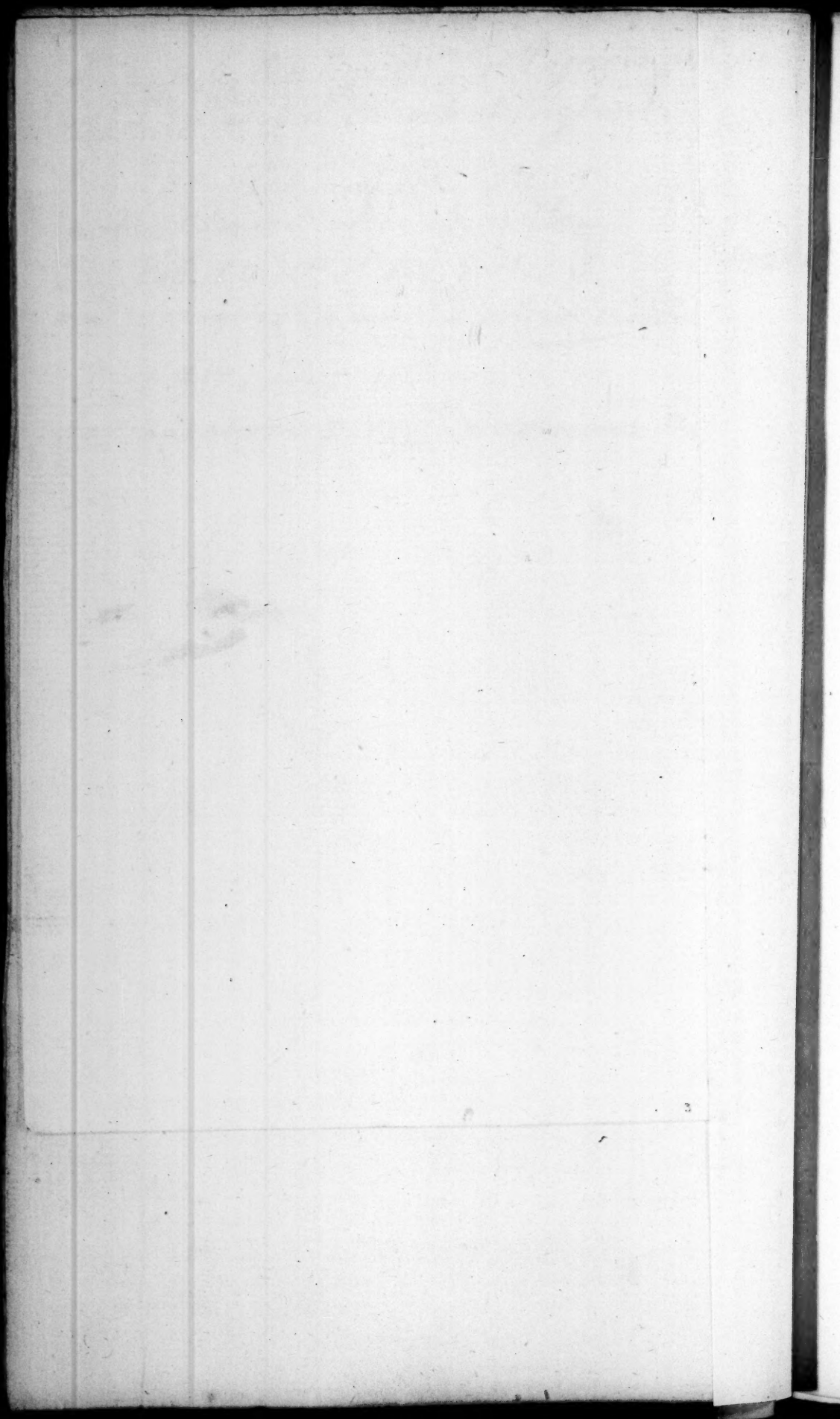
Page. 218. line 11th
for, suspicions, read, suspicious &c



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OCCASIONAL REMARKS

Upon some late STRICTURES ON
THE CONFSSIONAL.

P A R T II.

Containing chiefly
REMARKS on the FIRST of THREE LET-
TERS to the Author of that Work.

A N D

AN EXAMINATION of Dr. MACLAINE'S
Defence of Archbishop WAKE in the Third
APPENDIX of A SUPPLEMENT to the Quarto
Edition of Dr. MOSHEIM'S Ecclesiastical
History.

Addressed to a respectable Layman.

— That good fellow,
If I command him, follows my appointment.
I will have none so near else. Learn this, Brother,
We live not to be grip'd by meaner persons.

SHAKESPEAR.

*Weak Reasons have great force in them, when they that are nar-
row in Charity, and powerful in Place, have the MANAGE-
MENT of them.*

ANONYMUS.

L O N D O N,

Printed for S. BLADON, in *Pater-noster-row*.

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OCCASIONAL REMARKS, &c.

P A R T II.

Dear Sir,

I AGREE with you, that the author of *The Confessional* hath obligations to the Gentlemen who have published their animadversions on that work; but I am by no means clear to what these obligations amount. The author had little reason to expect the honour of employing so many important pens, some of which, if common fame is not mistaken, were taken off from labours, which would certainly have brought them in larger portions of reputation; but if, as hath been suggested, a more immediate prospect of Profit determined them to attack *The Confessional*, the consequence derived upon the author by his having such respectable adversaries will be but an accidental circumstance, for which his acknowledgments may be postponed.

The cry, it seems, was, ANY MONEY FOR AN ANSWER TO THE CONFESSORIAL; and being proclaimed from a quarter where such rewards were

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to be had for such services, it could hardly be, but that numbers of men of a certain stamp would sharpen their tools and prepare for the onset;—that sort of men I mean, whose mediocrity the church had hitherto overlooked, and who were waiting in silence and obscurity for an opportunity of displaying the merit of an implicit conformity, by way of a *Succedaneum* for merit of another sort.

It was, however, quickly understood, that the aid of writers of more consequence would be wanted, not so much for the confutation of a work, which all of them have since affected to hold in the extremest contempt, as to vindicate the honour of a prime Patron, who had fared but indifferently in the hands of a certain reverend Colonist, to whose merit and memory the author of *The Confessional* was disposed to do a little common justice.

When Dr. MIDDLETON'S *Introductory Discourse to his true Inquiry*, &c. first appeared, a wicked wit in the university of *Cambridge* was heard to say, that, “the Doctor had erected a ladder against the steeple, and that he foresaw the Aspirants would be in such haste to climb, that they would expose themselves to the company below in very ludicrous attitudes.” Every one knows the Event.

Whether this hath not been the case with the writers against *The Confessional*, must be left to the

the spectators to determine. Certain it is, that either their haste to climb, or their inadvertence from some other motive, hath drawn them into strange embarrassments, to the amazement, even of their own Friends and Partizans, with *some* of whom, it is well if the ungracious Picture they have drawn of their antagonist, will afford them a sufficient Apology.

I remember the day, my good friend, when you were felicitating the present times in very high strains of eulogy, on the *moderation* of our established clergy, who, you observed, had descended of late years from their high pretensions to spiritual powers and privileges, asserted with the utmost vehemence by some of their predecessors of recent memory; you did not think there were an hundred in the whole body who would oppose any reasonable modification of our established forms, which should be proposed, either to conciliate the Dissenters, or to accommodate the scrupulous in our own communion.

But though I then was, and still am happy, in being able to point out no inconsiderable numbers of wise and worthy men,—men of sound sense, and of an excellent spirit, who wish and wait for a reformation in our ecclesiastical affairs, yet I could not agree to your calculation of their influence. I could not think the old leaven had so far spent itself, as not to be capable of raising a new fermentation upon occasion given. For though the *Bennets*, the *Waterlands*, the *Berrimans*, &c. &c.

were dead and gone, I knew their eulogists were living; I even knew that the rank spirit of *Sacheverel* was not so far laid to rest, but that it occasionally appeared in some invidious flings at our first Reformers.

These particulars indeed were not much observed by the public, as the sentiments of these writers were commonly dropped in passing, sometimes with a kind of obscure intimation, which prevented the reader from being too much alarmed, and sometimes with equivocal qualifications, which might admit of a better sense by the *customary* methods of explanation.

But no sooner did *The Confessional* appear, than the mask was thrown aside. *Ambiguities* would no longer serve the turn. The Brotherhood must now speak out; and, as it happened, they did not want encouragement. To work they went; but whether it was, that, having enjoyed their privileges and emoluments for a long interval in perfect tranquillity, they had been less attentive to the foundation of their claim to them, or whether they placed their security in attentions of another kind, certain it is, that upon this occasion, they appeared to be taken by surprise, and without that preparation which the questions suggested in *The Confessional* seemed to require in those who thought themselves so materially concerned to answer them. Hence it is that their Theories

of Church Authority are so mismatched, that they are in fact as far at a distance from each other, as they are from the author of *The Confessional*.

The writer of the *Three Letters* to that author, in declining to answer for the ingenious fabricator of the *Alliance in Church and State*, thinks fit to say in the first of those letters, that “that person is abundantly much more able to answer for himself ^a.” But whatever superior abilities he may have to answer the author of *The Confessional*, the Letter-writer who pays him the compliment must equip him, as he hath done Dr. Mayhew, and his correspondent, with abilities *to answer every thing* ^b, before it is possible for him to support his *Alliance*, against the principles of Messieurs Rutherford, Ibbotson, the author of *The Essay on Establishments*, the Letter writer under our consideration, the *Dialogist* in the *London-Magazine*, and another Letter writer, who hath lately passed thro’ the hands of a correspondent, whose sentiments he certainly did not particularly solicit ^c.

The learned Cambridge Professor was the first who exhibited himself, cased in the old rusty

^a P. 66.

^b Ibid. p. 96.

^c See two masterly pamphlets, Part i. and ii. in Answer to a Book entituled, *Letters concerning Confessions of faith and subscriptions to Articles of Religion in Protestant Churches, occasioned by The Confessional*. Printed for F. Newbery, in St. Paul’s Church-Yard.

armour of the *Laudæan* age, asserting, that the Governors of the Church, like those of all other Societies, are vested with powers to order what they think best for the security and good government of the churches over which they preside ; not under any terms of an Alliance with the State, but for the purpose of establishing modes of Worship, tests of Doctrine, and canons of Discipline, by their own authority, which, he would have it believed, they derive from Christ.

How different this scheme of Government is from that of the Alliance, is easy to perceive by a transient glance. But it was bringing things back to *the old posture of Defence* ; and, sooth to say, the Professor had no great reason, *on his own account*, to be solicitous for the solidity or the honour of the said *Alliance*.

It is possible that Dr. *Rutherford's* system is, at the bottom, that of all the opponents of *The Confessional*, and particularly was that of their chief Patron and Abettor. But the time was not yet come to exhibit it in the face of the civil Magistrate, to whom the *Alliance* had given powers and privileges, for which the Professor had left no room. When therefore it was perceived, not without some degree of mortification, that the Professor had been so unhandy as to let the cat out of the bag, it was determined, without giving him time to pick up his mistakes
(as

(as he afterwards attempted to do) to employ another hand.

Accordingly, in due time, and to anticipate prejudices, appeared an Advertisement in the Daily Gazetteer, in which, after some abuse of the author of *The Confessional*, as one who could not upon his own principles be a member of any established Church, and after a freezing compliment to Dr. Rutherford, for his good will, notice was given in form, that a complete and satisfactory answer to *The Confessional* was upon the stocks, and would be speedily published.

Soon after appeared, *An Essay on Establishments in Religion*, in which, among other remarkables, is the following argument in behalf of such establishments.

“ The alliance between Government and Religion, is as old as Government itself. At the time of the first appearance of Christianity, this alliance subsisted every where, having descended without interruption from the first ages. Corrupt as religion then was, yet every Government in the known world drew succours from it, without which they could never have attained to any considerable degree of greatness and power. If Christianity then, when it put down these false and corrupt establishments, and thereby deprived Government of its ancient ally, had refused it-

“ self to affociate with the civil power, it would
 “ have done the most essential injury to Society.”

p. 10. 11.

That is to say, “ If Christianity does not supply Government [civil or political Government] with the same, or with similar means of *attaining* Greatness and *Power*, that false religion did, it will not afford Government a reasonable equivalent for the loss of its ancient ally;” viz. CORRUPT RELIGION. What is the consequence? Why that, in such case, civil Government ought not to admit, or tolerate *Christianity*.

The reader will observe, that this is not said of *Ecclesiastical establishments* assuming the name of Christian, but of Christianity itself. Such establishments there may be, which afford the same succours to political Government that corrupt religion did, namely, the succours of Superstition and Priestcraft, and those accommodations of religious Doctrine to the purposes of Despotism, Ambition, Avarice, &c. which corrupt religions afforded to the civil Governments with which they were incorporated. But the most ordinary reader of the New Testament will see that CHRISTIANITY, as it came from its blessed Teacher and his Apostles, abhors the profane idea, and disdains the dirty slavery of lackeying to the greatness and power of government, and assigns to government itself no higher object,
 than

than that *men may lead quiet and peaceable lives in all Godliness and Honesty.*

Surprized and shocked at this doctrine, some of the more moderate retainers to establishments revolted, upon seeing the foundations of them laid in this impious principle. Some of them called it *Hobbism*, but others insisted, that *Hobbes* was the honefter, as well as the more sensible writer of the two. For *Hobbes*, perceiving that Christianity would never suit the purposes of his *Leviathan*, which were the attainment of Greatness and Power, very seasonably asks this question,

“ But what if a King, or a Senate, or other sovereign person, forbid us to believe in Christ?”

For answer to which, he refers the scrupulous subject to the example of *Naaman* the Syrian, prescribes an unlimited external conformity, and brings him off with this salvo, that “ it is not he, that in this case, denieth Christ before men, but his Governor, and the laws of his country ^d.”

You will however be tempted to acknowledge that the *Essayist*, by this and the like strokes in favour of the civil Magistrate, very well supplies the defects of Dr. *Rutherford*, as he opens a way sufficiently smooth and wide to carry civil Government in company with Christianity, to the very summit of Greatness

^d *Leviathan*, chap. 42. part 3. p. 271. edit. 1651.

and Power. But be not too hasty in your conclusions. Christianity (the Essayist's *Butterfly* sort of Christianity) puts in for more than an equal share of glory with him. For though, as we are told in another passage, "the magistrate
 "is bound to exercise his private judgement for
 "the good of the public, in consequence of his
 "right to judge of the principles of religion
 "and their effects for himself, yet is he bound,
 "in regard to the thousands that are interested in
 "his choice, to make use of *all* the means of
 "right information, which his high office puts
 "in his Power^e." And this information, as appears in the sequel, he can only have from the CHURCH, out of whose Tuition the Essayist takes care he shall not escape, till he hath agreed to execute all her behests without exception; and by these means, you see, he establishes the Church in all those claims and pretensions which Dr. *Rutherford* had taken for granted, without any respect had to the civil magistrate.

And here, he fell under the cognizance of the learned and incomparably accurate Dr. *Darwin*^f, as the Professor had done before him, in whose hands I most willingly leave them both,

^e Essay on Establishments, p. 16—20, 21, 22. e. q. f.

^f See likewise an excellent pamphlet, intituled, *Observations on National Establishments of Religion in general, and on the establishment of Christianity in particular*. Printed for Bladon. And another intituled, *Civil Establishments in religion, a ground of infidelity*, printed for Johnson.

with

with this single reflection, that probably hereafter it may become a question among the *Anti-confessionalists* themselves, whether Dr. *Rutherford* or the *Essayist* have done the greater honour to the civil Magistrate, the former by leaving him out of his scheme of Church Government, or the latter by taking him in.

At what time the writer of the *Three Letters* to the author of *The Confessional* was called to this service, or whether he was the complete answerer notified in the *Advertisement* above-mentioned, cannot be precisely determined. After the nakedness of the *Essay on Establishments*, &c. had been so effectually exposed, it is probable the inconvenience of attacking the doctrine of *The Confessional*, before the public was sufficiently prejudiced against the person and good faith of the author, was easily perceived; and about that time, it is likely, the writer of the *Three Letters* received his commission. In the end of his *Third Letter*, there is an intimation, signifying that the whole business of castigating *The Confessional* was delegated to him, and it was understood that his instructions was *to lay it on thick*. And to answer the purpose of his constituents, he very properly introduces himself with the air and importance of an inquisitor of heretical pravity.

Full of compassion for the poor culprit before him, he exhorts him, to “ go coolly over
“ his

“ his book along with the Remarker, to revise
 “ his sentiments and expressions,” p. 4. in order,
 no doubt, to put the Holy Office in the right
 as soon as may be, by confessing, retracting, and
 abjuring his errors; previous to which, he is re-
 minded to consider whether he may, “ with a
 “ good conscience, fill a station, and receive the
 “ profits of it, without performing ALL the con-
 “ ditions of it, on which he was admitted into it.”

p. 3.

If you ask upon what authority he acts the
 censor with all this solemn Grimace? he an-
 swers in Apostolical phrase, that “ he means
 “ to *withstand* the author of *The Confessional*, to
 “ *the face*, wherever the said author *is to be*
 “ *blamed* ^f.”

To open his way to these rebukes, he takes
 it for granted that the *Pannel* “ hath made cer-
 “ tain declarations, and subscribed his assent to
 “ certain articles” (which he puts down however
 with great caution, to save himself from the dis-
 grace of recrimination) and then says, “ I pre-
 “ sume you will not say, that your Book is con-
 “ sistent with these declarations.” p. 2.

^f P. 1. *Neminem offendat*, says the Popish doctor, Francis
 Martin, *quod TILLOTSONUM ubique durius exceperim; quia in*
causa religionis toties et tam splendide mentitus, ex Apostoli ad
Titum mandato, durè, sicut commervit, increpandus erat. Ad-
ditions to Birch's Life of Tillotson, octavo, p. 10.—Congenial
 souls: that they should both hit upon the same expedient to
 overbear all objections to their authority!

Right

Right inquisitor throughout ! “ you, poor heretic, are accused of disputing the authority of Holy Church. If you ask on what evidence? you are to trust the Holy Office for the authenticity of its informations. Suffice it for you to know, that you are accused; and it is your best way, to intitle yourself to our *Goodwill*, to confess and retract your Heresies, without more ado.”

By the way, may not this Gentleman be supposed to have forgot in what country, and under what government we live? shall an unknown writer pretend to insult another, equally unknown, in this lordly manner, upon presumptions, for which he hath no proof? Does he think it a light matter among Englishmen and Protestants to intrude himself with these airs of authority, into a province, where all the world may see he hath no commission?

It appears from a circumstance p. 8. of this *First* Letter, that the Remarker is a beneficed Clergyman, possessed of an ecclesiastical preferment. Will he undertake to say, that he hath performed ALL the conditions on which he was admitted into it? He may *say* it indeed, without much trouble. But in whatever way he goes about to *prove* it, I will venture to say, and prove, that the author of *The Confessional* stands upon even ground with him. If he can neither say it nor prove it (as, in the present state of
our

our Ecclesiastical System, where is the man that can?) *St. Paul* had another text or two, equally at his service, and much more to the purpose of his edification, viz. *who art thou that judgest another man's servant? Thou who teachest another, teachest thou not thyself?*

Thanks be to the times, and the moderation of a more liberal set of Divines, there are men among us of a better spirit than this uncharitable Remarker.

It is well known, that when Bishop *Ridley* took orders in the church of *Rome*, he must have made all the declarations and subscriptions that were necessary to ascertain his conformity to that church, even to the minutest ceremony, insignificant and superstitious as it might be, and to the observance of which, *Erasmus* informs us, the Priests of that church were bound, *arctioribus pene vinculis quam ad ea quæ præcipit Christus*.

In process of time, articles were exhibited against Dr. *Ridley*, importing, that, “ He preached at *St. Stephens* in Rogation week, and said, “ that auricular confession was a mere positive “ law, and ordained as a godly means for the “ sinner to come to the Priest for counsel, but “ he could not find it in Scripture. 2. That he “ had preached in the said Rogation week, and “ said, that there was no meeter term to be “ given to the ceremonies of the church, than “ to call them, Beggarly ceremonies. 3. That
“ *Te*

"*Te Deum* had been sung in English at *Herne*,
 " where the said master doctor *Ridley* was vicar &."

The prosecution, indeed, ended favourably for Dr. *Ridley*; but the point of Conscience still remained with him, and, according to our *Letter-writer*, he ought certainly to have resigned his Prebend of *Canterbury*, and vicarage of *Herne*, " having not performed *all* the conditions on " which he was admitted into them."

But here steps in the Bishop's learned and candid Biographer, Mr. *Glocester Ridley*, and declares that this worthy Prelate " behaved " honestly and prudently in his endeavours in " the pulpit, to set the abuses of popery before " the peoples eyes."——*Honestly*, in making the word of God the rule of his instructions; and *prudently*, in keeping to the windward of the six Articles ^h. And *honesty* and *prudence* being se-

^s Biographia Britannica, vol. VI. part II. supplement, p. 150.

^h See the Life of Dr. *Nicholas Ridley*. Quarto. 1763. p. 145. The candour and moderation of this ingenious Biographer is the more laudable, as it may seem from some of his publications, that he entertained not so low an opinion of *auricular confession* as his venerable Ancestor. Besides what he says in the Bishop's Life, we have his sentiments of this matter, in a sermon by him preached at the funeral of Dr. *William Berriman*, Feb. 10, 1749. Where, speaking of the deceased, he has the following passage, " In solving doubts, and directing conscience, a ready " and nice casuist; a science of which he made himself master; " notwithstanding the too general neglect in our congrega- " tions to afford opportunities of exercising it. Too sad an in-
 cured,

cured, why might he not keep his preferments (notwithstanding any deviations from his subscription) with the best conscience in the world! Whether the author of *The Confessional* can fairly avail himself of this Precedent, I am not quite clear. *The Letter-writer* will not allow

“ stance how careless and indifferent men are with regard to
 “ their *eternal interests*. AURICULAR CONFESSION, enjoined
 “ as absolutely necessary to salvation, and of which the Popish
 “ Clergy made a scandalous use, our Reformers warmly oppos-
 “ ed; but *the wisest* of them did strongly recommend and ap-
 “ prove of PRIVATE CONFESSION for the benefit of counsel and
 “ advice. As we have laid aside the tyrannous abuse of it, it
 “ would be happy if our people would restore to themselves the
 “ spiritual use and benefit of it.” p. 16. edit. 4th. We see
 this learned and compassionate Divine, notwithstanding a sort
 of *predilection* for this article of Church-discipline, and notwith-
 standing its being a church-ordinance to which Dr. *Ridley* had
 solemnly given his assent, says not a word of his obligation to
 resign his preferments, or give up the profits of them, on account
 of his contravening *one* of the conditions on which he was ad-
 mitted into them. How amiable this temper when compared
 with the spirit of the Letter-writer! And how perverse would
 the latter be, should he once more set his *Dwarf* to work with
 his *Doubts*, making it one of them, whether *Private Confession*,
 the neglect of which implies *carelessness and neglect with regard*
to men's eternal interest, is not much the same thing as *Auricular*
Confession, absolutely necessary to salvation? But I hope these im-
 pertinences are now falling into disrepute; and that this Gentle-
 man may be permitted, with all freedom and indulgence, to re-
 commend the *restoration* of some *other* things to us, laid aside,
 possibly, by our Reformers with too much precipitation. What
 a glorious acquisition to the author of *The Confessional* would such
 a coadjutor be? so much the more valuable, as one might almost
 ensure his perseverance in this *restoring* kind of Reformation,
 even though he should be promoted to the See of *Canterbury*.
 him

him one grain of *honesty*; and I own, I have some doubts myself concerning his *prudence*, who ventured so unadvisedly to thrust his hand into a wasp's nest.

Let us see whether he may not have better luck with an example of *honesty* and *prudence*, nearer our own times.

Bishop *Sanderfon*, a divine in the highest honour and esteem with the most liberal-minded dealers in morality and politics of the present ageⁱ, writes thus to his friend Dr. *Thomas Pierce* some time before the Restoration :

“ As for the questions of *Election*, *Reprobation*,
 “ *Effectual Grace*, *Perseverance*, &c. I took as little
 “ notice of the two first as of any other thing con-
 “ tained in the book [*Calvin's Institutions*], both
 “ because I was always afraid to pry much into
 “ those secrets, and because I could not certainly
 “ inform myself, &c. — But giving myself mostly
 “ still to the study of moral divinity, (and taking
 “ most other things *upon trust*, as they were in
 “ a manner generally taught in the schools and
 “ pulpits in both universities) I did, for many
 “ years together, acquiesce. — But 1625, a Par-
 “ liament being called, wherein I was chosen

ⁱ See, “ A Dialogue between *Isaac Walton* and *Homologistes*,
 “ in which the character of Bishop *Sanderfon* is defended
 “ against the Author of *The Confessional*, printed for *Fletcher*
 “ and Co. 1768.”

“ one of the Clerks of the Convocation for the
 “ Diocese of *Lincoln*, during the continuance
 “ of that Parliament (which was about four
 “ months as I remember) there was some ex-
 “ pectation that those Arminian points (the only
 “ questions almost in agitation at that time)
 “ should have been debated by the Clergy in
 “ Convocation ; which occasioned me, as it did
 “ fundry others, being then at some leisure, to
 “ endeavour by study and conference, to inform
 “ myself as thoroughly and exactly in the state
 “ of those controversies, as I could have oppor-
 “ tunity, and as my wit would serve me for it.”

After this he informs his correspondent, that
 he reduced the several opinions on these heads,
 into five schemes, or tables, that he might have
 the differences better represented to the eye, *uno*
quasi intuitu, and concludes thus :

“ Having all these schemes before my eyes at
 “ once, so as I might with ease compare them
 “ one with another, and having considered of the
 “ conveniencies and inconveniencies of each, as
 “ well as I could, I soon discerned a necessity of
 “ quitting the *sublapsarian* way, of which I had a
 “ better liking before, as well as the *supralap-*
 “ *sarian*, which I could never fancy ^k.”

Dr. *Pierce*, in his Letter to Dr. *Isaac Walton*,
 subjoined to *Walton's* life of *Sanderfon*, says,

^k See Dr. *Hammond's* Pacific Discourse of God's Grace and
 Decrees, in full accordance with Dr. *Sanderfon*. Sect. xiv.
 that

that “this *happy change* in Bishop *Sanderfon*’s
 “judgement had been ever since the year 1625,
 “even *thirty-four* years before the world either
 “knew, or (at least) took notice of it.”

How indeed should the world either know or take notice of this *happy change*, when, in the very year after it was wrought, namely (according to *Anthony Wood*¹) in the year 1626, Dr. *Sanderfon* wrote his *Pax Ecclesiæ*, wherein he falls foul upon the *Arminians*, and particularly upon *Montague*’s Appeal, for “bragging
 “out some of their private tenets, as if they
 “were the received established doctrine of the
 “Church of *England*, by forcing the words of
 “the Articles or Common Prayer Book, to a
 “sense which appeareth not to have been intended therein, as Mr. *Montague* hath done,
 “in the point of falling from grace.” For the preventing of which, and farther evils, he thought it needful, that, “the church should interpose herein, both by farther explanation of
 “her doctrine in the points questioned, and by
 “the exercise of her discipline upon such persons as will not rest in her determinations^m.”

¹ *Wood*’s Athen. Oxon. vol. ii. p. 322. But more probably the *Pax Ecclesiæ* was written still later. Dr. *Sanderfon* there mentions Mr. *Montague* and his *opposers*, by which, it should seem, he had seen some at least of the answers to the Appeal. In one place, I conjecture, he alludes to Bishop *Carleton*’s, which was not published till 1626.

^m *Pax Eccles.* p. 59 — 61.

Give me leave to subjoin a few remarks to the foregoing narrative.

1. In this *Pax Ecclesiæ*, and particularly, under the title, *Series Decretorum Dei*, sect. vii. p. 69. Dr. *Sanderson* appears to have been a *Sublapsarian*, if ever there was one in the world; as much a *Sublapsarian* as when he subscribed the Articles for the first time. And yet, if we believe himself on another occasion, he had quitted that way before he wrote that tract, and was become an *Arminian* ⁿ.

2. In the first edition of his sermons, we have the following marginal note: "Of late our *English Arminians* have got the trick to fetch in within the compasse of this title of *Puritane*s, all orthodox divines that oppose against their *Semi-pelagian* subtilties; of purpose to make *sound truth* odious, and their own corrupt novelties more passable and plausible ^o." And from this *tricke*, the said *Arminians* are in the text, ranked among "*Raskall people*, who will call any man that beareth but the face of honesty, a *Puritane*."

How it is in the intermediate editions I know not; but in the *sixth* edition, 1674, the marginal

ⁿ N. B. Bishop *Burnet* admits of no medium between the *Sublapsarian* and *Arminian* systems. See his *Exposition*, on the 17th Article. Folio, p. 146, 147.

^o Published in quarto, 1632, p. 34.

note appeareth not, though the *Rascall people* still keep their ground, to be applied as the reader shall think good.

Again, in the margin of the opposite page of the old edition in quarto, is this note. "So "*Pelagius*, from whose root *Popery* (in that branch) and *Arminianisme* sprouted, was a man as strict for life, as most Catholikes, yet a most dangerous and pestilent heretick ^p."

But in the folio of 1674, the words, *and Arminianisme*, are dropt, and in the text, "*Arminius* his corrupt doctrine," is changed into, "*the suspected tenets of Arminius*," and, "*the bold heresies of Faustus Socinus*," added, to round off the period handsomely ^q.

There must of course be something mysterious in the conduct of a profound casuist who walks by his own rules; and it is happy for us, on account of the perplexity this might occasion to ordinary readers, that we are blessed in these enlightened times, with a set of geniuses, who, if the casuist is a favourite with them, can give

^p Ibid. p. 35.

^q How far Bishop *Sanderfon*'s own hand might be concerned in these alterations, I know not. I am willing to hope he had no hand in the latter corrections, farther than barely to expunge what related to *Arminius*, and *Arminianism*, in the text and margin. If he himself substituted *the suspected tenets of Arminius*, he must have been an adroit politician indeed.

us a clear and consistent account of all his doublings and quirks, and bring him out of all his scrapes with honour. I do, therefore, on this occasion, make it my humble suit to the ingenious and polite gentleman, who personates *Isaac Walton* in a certain dialogue, to lend us his friendly hand once more, and to inform us what we are to think of this same Dr. *Sanderson*, who, holding doctrines against which he declared *the church ought to exercise her discipline*, not only dissembled his own judgment, but inveighed against those, who, with more *seeming* honesty at least, avowed the same sentiments?

When this conduct is happily accounted for, I would then humbly address myself to the *Letter-writer*, and request to be informed by him, upon what principles of conscience Dr. *Sanderson* could continue to *fill a station in the church, and to receive the profits of it, without performing ALL the conditions on which he was admitted into it?*

For thus stood the case with him. The Doctor himself tells Dr. *Pierce*, that “the first thing he thought it was fit for him to do, after he had the degree of Master of Arts, was to consider well of the Articles of the Church of *England*, which he had formerly read over twice or thrice, and whereunto he had subscribed ^r.”

^r *Hammond's* Pacific Discourse, u. f.

If we give credit to what he says in his *Pax Ecclesiæ*, he believed that the *Arminians*, in endeavouring to accommodate their private opinions to the established doctrine of the Church of *England*, “forced the words of the Articles “and Common Prayer Book, to a sense which “appeareth *not to have been intended there- “in*.”

Hence it is clear, that when *Dr. Sanderson* was admitted to his first preferment, he subscribed the Articles in the *Calvinistical* sense. That he afterwards changed his judgment is clear from his own testimony, as well as on what occasion. He was then, in his judgement, an *Arminian*; and under that persuasion, he must be understood to have subscribed the Articles for his Doctor of Divinity’s degree in 1632. But in the same year were published his twelve sermons, wherein he calls the *Arminian* opinions, *semipelagian subtilties, corrupt novelties, corrupt doctrine*, and makes them *spring from the same root with Popery*.

Now whatever *Dr. Sanderson’s* opinions were, the words of the Articles were still the same, and no more susceptible of an *Arminian* sense in 1632, than they were in 1619, or 1626. Either, therefore, he must, in this last subscription,

* *Pax Ecclesiæ*, p. 61.

have done what he so severely reprehended in *Montague*, viz. “forced the words of the Articles, to a sense which appeareth not to have been intended therein,” or he must have dissembled with the church, pretending to subscribe to doctrines *ex animo*, which he had quitted long before †.

All this while he was in possession of his benefice at *Boothby Pagnel*, to which he was admitted on very different conditions, and from whence the *Letter-writer*, if it had been in his power, must, upon his own principles, have ousted him, in spite of all that the liberal and indulgent *Pseudo-Walton* could have said in his behalf †.

† This is so plain a case from *Sanderfon's* Letter to *Pierce*, and from *Pierce's* Letter to *Walton*, that there is no denying it. But methods will always be found out to save the honour of staunch champions of *Sanderfon's* complexion at all events. Accordingly, it is pretended by the compiler of His Article in the *Biographia Britannica*, ridiculously enough, that his conversion from the *rigid*, i. e. the *supralapsarian* hypothesis, was owing to a visit Dr. *Hammond* paid him in 1649. But that he was ever converted from the *sublapsarian* way, this deponent saith not. A tale which hath likewise been industriously imposed upon foreigners. See *Wetstein's* Prolegomena, fol. p. 190.

‡ The reverend Mr. *Bowman*, M. A. Vicar of *Martham* in *Norfolk*, in his *Review of the Doctrines of the Reformation*, &c. p. 94. on the strength of what he found in the *Pax Ecclesiæ*, hath claimed *Sanderfon* for a *Predestinarian*. I am impatient

The

The Author of *The Confessional* having these, and not less than a hundred more venerable and orthodox examples to appeal to, the Letter-writer, one would think, might afford him one single grain of that charity to which he makes so many sanctified pretensions, and allow the said author the satisfaction of having the testimony of his conscience, that he is in the right, at least till the *Letter-writer* hath proved the contrary.

to know what Dr. *Nowell* will say to this. For, battered as he is by the author of *Pietas Oxoniensis*, I have no doubt but he will *fight upon his stumps*. Will he say that *Sanderson* was not in earnest? — In the mean time, how strangely things are altered? — In 1626, the church is called upon to exercise her discipline upon the *Arminians* for not resting in her determinations. In 1767, certain young academics, who, *taking things upon trust*, as they are generally taught in the schools and pulpits in both universities, might probably enough subscribe in the *Arminian* sense, find reason, from study and conference to change their judgment, and quit the *Arminian*, for the *supralapsarian*, or *sublapsarian* way. It will be in vain for them to alledge, that the determination of the church was on their side in 1626. Dr. *Nowell* will prove to them, that, by virtue of his *Pia & Catholica*, the same church's determination, on the same words in the same Articles, is against them in 1767. What is the consequence? The young men persist in their judgment. The universities (in this case the representatives of the church) are called upon to exercise their discipline upon them. Apostolical authority is erected to *withstand them to the face*. They are convened, interrogated, and in the end — *Cætera dicat Pietas Oxoniensis*.

But,

But, no, "The *Letter-writer* hath known
 "very wicked men, who have died in the fatal
 "security of a dreadfully mistaken conscience,"
 p. 7. which, he takes it for granted, will cer-
 tainly be the case of this criminal under his
 hands, except he shall repent, — of what? —
 Why, of *mimicking Cæsar on the banks of the*
Rubicon.

But if a man dies in the full persuasion that
 his conscience is *not* mistaken, is that any cer-
 tain sign that he is a wicked man? How does
 the Letter-writer know that the security of such
 a one will be *fatal* to him?

"Because," he must say (for he can have no-
 thing else to say) "my conscience is *not* mis-
 "taken, and *that* directs me to opposite senti-
 "ments."

Well then, *my* infallibility is as good as *his* ;
 and upon that presumption, permit me to bor-
 row a little of the language in which he describes
 the *wickedness* of the author he takes to task,
 and apply it to the conscience of some one of
 those who have lately espoused a scheme as
 pregnant perhaps with public mischief as *The*
Confessional itself.

"I have known a man who died in the midst
 "of his sanguine endeavours to establish Bi-
 "shops in certain of our *American* colonies, and
 "in full security that his conscience required
 "this

“ this of him. In his scheme of episcopizing
 “ this people, “ were plenty of *innovations*,” as
 “ hath appeared from a pamphlet published by
 “ one Dr. *Chandler* of that country, which, as
 “ well as the *extent* of his plan, would certainly
 “ have created vehement disputes, oppositions,
 “ and disquietudes. And these disorders, mix-
 “ ing and fermenting with the humours of the
 “ higher and lower ranks of men, relative to
 “ other matters, and the general dissatisfaction
 “ (for, whatever the *Letter-writer* may fancy,
 “ such it would be) at many of the changes this
 “ *Reformer* would have introduced, might easily
 “ bring all into a dreadful confusion.” — And
 so, kind reader, we have got another *Cæsar* on
 the banks of the *Rubicon*, — to whom, “ all the
 “ foreseen horrors of a civil war were nothing.”
 — Let us not, however, be behind-hand with the
 [*Letter-writer*, in praying for the surviving pro-
 jectors, that they may find like mercy with St.
Paul — and on the same consideration, that they
 do it ignorantly and in unbelief.

One of the prime arts of controversy, is *mis-*
representation. A talent of perpetual use with
 our *Letter-writer*, but not always with the same
 felicity.

For example: “ *Parker* and *Whitgift*,” says
 he, “ are degraded into beadles, appointed for
 “ correction only,” p. 8.

Now

Now the author of the *Preface* under consideration says not one word of their *appointment*, but only of the *intention*, with which certain persons obnoxious to Queen *Elizabeth*, were delivered over to them. Our present Bishops are appointed, among other better purposes, for *correction*, and hath, each of them, his *correction court*. Shall we say, that so far as they exercise this corrective authority, they are degraded into *beadles*? Such, however, is the import of the *Letter-writer's* comment. But the *Prefacer* hath no such *degrading* expression, and should be sorry to think the *Letter-writer* was apprehensive it might be applied to any with whom even he hath had connexions. Indeed we have read not long since, of a Prelate who had his *Beadles* out of court. If an office of that kind should become vacant, I know not who would venture to contend with our *Letter-writer* for the succession *?

* Since this was written, a formidable rival for the office in question hath published his pretensions, brandishing his two whips of *Excommunication* and *Deprivation* against all those, *who, IN ANY RESPECT, depart from the public Institution*. A candidate of this complexion, were he to succede, would make us a thin church; for the *Latitudinarians*, a numerous and respectable body, must unavoidably be driven out by his scourge of *Deprivation*. But no matter, the remainder would be very honest fellows, and there would be the better pickings for them. The contest on the day of election might probably be violent and sharp. The *Letter-writer* espouses the *Old*
Again.

Again. Upon the *Prefacer's* observing, that *Wake* was not Archbishop of *Canterbury*, when, at *Sacheverel's* trial, he spake in favour of Reformation, the *Letter-writer* remarks, that, "with the said *Prefacer*, it appears a crime sufficient to be *thought worthy* of that preference," p. 8.

How so, I pray? *Wake* was *thought worthy* of that preference, not for his *principles* dis-

posture of defence, the other is attached to the *New*. This must necessarily divide and irritate the electors. But whatever might be the event upon a fair poll, no detriment can arise to the church. For howsoever their respective systems may look a-squint at each other in theory,

'Tis the same rope at different ends they twist.

It is surprising how many notable things this new disciplinarian brings about by virtue of *reciprocation* and *implication*. "Obedience and Authority are reciprocal terms. — A power of appointing implies a power of excluding. And these, again, imply a power of excommunicating and depriving." — "True," says honest old *Benjamin*, "and a power of oppression, implies a power of usurpation." Happily our new candidate has no occasion to incumber his scheme of church-authority, with this *reciprocation*. Old *Ben*. foolishly went to Scripture, for an accurate description of men's rights and duties in matters of religion. We are now told, that, "as a member of the *English Church*, he ought to have *seen farther*, and *judged better*." The *Book of Alliance*, is the only scripture to be quoted on these subjects. And indeed the text might as well have been taken from it, as a place of scripture referred to where the words are not to be found. But where, however, a more satisfactory comment upon them occurs, than that of our candidate.

covered

covered *after* his promotion, but for his *professions before* it. If, being at the end of his prospects by that promotion, he laid aside the mask, and appeared in a different character, they who *thought* him *worthy* of that preference were mistaken in their man, as indeed sufficiently appeared in the event.

The observation, that, "it is a common frailty of human nature to be intoxicated with power and preeminence," the *Prefacer* hath not made special to Archbishops of *Canterbury*. If it hath happened to more than Dr. *Wake* in that station, who can help it? Doth the *Prefacer* say it hath happened to *all*? So, it seems, the *Remarker* would have it understood, though he could not but see that *two* are excepted out of the *eight* that are mentioned in the *Preface*; and to these, I dare say, the *Prefacer* will be ready to add, *Grindal*, *Abbot*, *Tillotson*, and *Tenison*. I will even venture to undertake for his agreement with me in my firm belief, that posterity will do full justice to the perseverance of that worthy Prelate who now fills that important station, in those amiable, candid, and liberal dispositions and sentiments which have marked his character, from his first appearance in public life. In the character of Archbishop *Herring* both parties seem to agree. But from different motives. His grace's benevolence, it seems, secured

cured the *Letter-writer* from the fatal consequences of a lapse of one of his livings; the *Prefacer* probably knew some instances in which his Grace's benevolence had been of more service to the public.

From the leaders of the church, the *Letter-writer* proceeds to the subalterns, at the head of which he places himself, as their universal convocation-man, commissioned, as he would persuade the world, to act and answer for them upon all occasions. "WE," says he, "are grouped together."

I ask his pardon: The Author of the *Preface* hath distinguished them into *two* groupes. 1. Of men who are deeply affected with the bonds and burdens that are laid upon them, and sensible of the various inconveniences to which they are exposed by their scruples; And, 2. men who are perfectly callous to all these considerations, and proof against all sensibility of that sort.

"I have not," says a most masterly writer, "brought this palpable contradiction out to view, with any design to reproach or reflect dishonour upon the Clergy. I much rather pity the difficulty of their situation, and the hardness of the conditions they are obliged to submit to." *A plain and proper answer to the question, Why does not the Bishop of Clogher — resign his preferments?* 1753, p. 10. But surely they who, with these palpable contradictions in their view, "raise violent opposition to the least alteration of what they have received from their forefathers," are not objects of this

With

With the former of these *groupes*, the *Letter-writer* hath nothing to do, for he is no distress

pity. They perceive no difficulties in their situation; "and
 "all one can conclude," says the same incomparable writer,
 "from the discourse and writings of *many* staunch churchmen,
 "is, that they would have made admirable Papists; and ne-
 "ver have deserted the good old cause." *Ibid.* p. 12, 13.
 This distinction hath likewise been marked in a pleasing and
 polite *Address to the Rational Advocates of the Church of Eng-
 land*, printed for *Doddsley*, 1769, — between "those who, for
 "selfish purposes, join the combination, to justify all the im-
 "positions of an exclusive establishment, be they right or wrong,
 "by the persuasive argument of pains and penalties," — or,
 "those, who, wrapped in ease and indolence, are content to en-
 "joy the emoluments of it, without ever enquiring about the
 "truth or meaning of any thing else," p. 18, 19. These, I
 say, are distinguished from those, who, "finding their pro-
 "fession fettered with certain conditions, which they may not
 "perhaps entirely approve of — do yet evidence by their *con-*
 "*duct* a just and scrupulous attention to the grand object of
 "it," namely, "the reformation, the moral perfection, the
 "happiness temporal and eternal of mankind, by the establish-
 "ment of religious truth," p. 20. This *conduct* consists in
 taking things they may not entirely approve of, in a *certain*
latitude, both with respect to the sense in which they under-
 stand them, and with respect to their *usage* and *practice*, in
 their public ministrations. How far the *negative sanction* of
 the *legislative powers* may justify these worthy persons to *them-*
selves for taking this *latitude*, I presume not to enquire. If
 this *negative sanction* has any effectual operation *this* way, all
 farther application for a reformation of improprieties in our
 public forms, seems to be superfluous. But I hope this inge-
 nious Author will bear with me in saying, that I am by no
 means satisfied with *one* principle on which he seems to rest
 their justification. It is where he tells us, that, "for the im-
 about

about any such matters. If he chuses to put himself at the head of the other band, and if

“ propriety of those conditions which these clergymen may
 “ not entirely approve of, as they had no hand in framing or
 “ imposing them, they do not think themselves responsible,”
 p. 20, 21. But has not this plea too much the air of *Hudibras’s* casuistry ?

*He that imposes an oath, makes it ;
 Not he that for convenience takes it.
 Then how can any man be said
 To break an oath he never made ?*

Having, by subscribing or declaring their assent and consent *ex animo*, accepted these conditions with all their improprieties, will it be sufficient to excuse their non-performance, to say that they are not responsible for them, because they had no hand in framing or imposing them ? and if they do not mean, by getting rid of this *responsibility*, to excuse their non-performance, of what consequence is it, who is or is not responsible for the impropriety in those conditions, or who had or had not a hand in framing or imposing them ? Candor and fair dealing in controversy is never expected from ecclesiastical bigots, and of this the more liberal contenders for *latitude* have had abundant experience. And yet, I know not how it is, — *The Confessional* seems to have incurred the displeasure of *both*. And though the latter may speak of the Author in less disparaging terms, yet they seemed disposed to represent him in an unfavourable light, by citing his expressions to purposes, which, with candid readers, he could never be supposed to intend. Thus the ingenious writer before us, having mentioned on what terms the Latitudinarians can bring themselves to comply with the establishment, proceeds to ask, Would you have them stand aloof, and try at least what concessions the church would make them, rather than want their services ? It is true, these words are cited from *The Confessional* : But are they fairly cited ?

C

they

they chuse to accept him for their leader, I dare answer for it, the Author of the *Preface* will

— fairly enough, to justify the epithets of *wayward*, and *perverse*, bestowed upon the Author, in the former part of the paragraph? For to whom are they applied in *The Confessional*? Not to such Latitudinarians, as take liberties, “under the negative sanction of the legislative powers, or because they do not think themselves responsible for the impropriety of the conditions in which they are fettered, and do not approve of, because they had no hand in framing or imposing them.” — It is not of these, or such as these, that the Author is speaking, but of the *Hales's*, the *Chillingworths*, the *Clarks*, and the *Hoathys*, who, by their writings, had rooted up those foundations of church power on which the *Hierarchists* of their times respectively had built their systems. Men who might have claimed a greater degree of respect, on the account of other services they did to religion, than any others, perhaps, who, since those times, have espoused the same principles. And does not the Author of *The Confessional* sufficiently intimate, that as these men did not try this expedient, it was not likely to have effect in future times, even though attempted by others? Does he not call this, a *misfortune* both to the *present* and the *next* generation? Dr. *Clarke* indeed did *stand aloof* in one instance, and it made its impression*. Some great men of those times, perfectly sensible of the *misfortune* that a man of his uncommon merit should be excluded from a more considerable station in the church than that which he occupied, and where he made his stop, would have made up to him what he lost in the department of his own profession, through the infelicity of the times, by a lay office of considerable emolument. This is not only an instance of *some* regard paid by the public to the scruples of this great and good man, but an instance likewise how little he was in love with his own principles of *latitude* when he came to give them a second confi-

* See *Whiston's Memoirs of Dr. Clarke*, p. 66. & 85.

have

have no objection. "These, however," the Letter-writer says, "are described in such lan-

deration. Again, the Addresser represents the Calvinistical sense of certain of our "articles as appearing to the Author of *The Confessional*, the one, plain, determinate sense of those articles ; " and with this representation, he contrasts the variety of senses " into which, he supposes, the creed of every individual Calvinist to be split with respect to these articles." If this representation was intended to accommodate the latitudinarian subscribers, it might have been applied to that purpose without this gird at the Author of *The Confessional*, for whom it is sufficient, if *Ward, Davenant, Carlton, Hall, Usher*, and others of those times to which *The Confessional* refers, were uniform and consistent in the sense they put upon these articles, as they were supposed to be well acquainted with the sense of the compilers. The variety of senses espoused by more modern, as well as more obscure Calvinists, came not into the compass of the Author's inquiry, who was looking for the interpretation of the Church of *England*, which is commonly understood to be best authenticated by the comments of her most eminent divines. And after all, whatever difference there might be in the interpretations of these commentators, they have all of them shewn (whatever they have *not* shewn) that all *Arminian* senses are utterly incompatible with the sense of these articles, so that Latitudinarians of this complexion can take little comfort from this representation. I wish, when this entertaining writer mentioned the Author of *The Confessional*, as believing, that "the Fathers of our Church are now by no means in "love with a laxity of interpretation," p. 29, he had mentioned likewise the reason given for such belief: which was, their taking *Welchman* for their guide, in examining the candidates for orders, &c. I believe, with him, that there may have been of late, some alteration in that usage, and therefore forbear to bring instances to support the opinion of the Author of *The Confessional*, especially, as several of them must be fetched

“guage, as a gentleman and a scholar should never
“give any one,” p. 8. This observation comes,

from the practice of those whose ashes I am unwilling to disturb. One thing I will undertake to say for the Author of *The Confessional* at a venture, that no man wishes more than he, for an “Ecclesiastical constitution, calculated to comprehend
“all that hold the fixed and fundamental principles and points
“of faith, in which all serious and sincere Protestants of every
“denomination are unanimously agreed, and to exclude those
“only that hold the peculiar tenets that essentially distinguish
“all true Protestantism from Popery.” *Address*, p. 31, 32. And one of his reasons, I apprehend, from the tenor of his book, may be, that a subscription to forms of doctrine and worship, conceived in the same words, but subscribed in five hundred different senses, can neither be very honourable to the subscribers, nor to the church which requires it. For my own part, I cannot help suspecting, that there might, after all, be some disagreement among us, concerning “the tenets that
“essentially distinguish all true Protestantism from Popery.” I have met with very honest and sensible men of the same denomination, as well as with others of different denominations, who have very different notions of this matter. And were the proposed ecclesiastical constitution to be accommodated to some supposed *essential* distinctions of true Protestantism from Popery, I am next to certain, that the ingenious and sensible *Addresser* would raise up a tribe of *Vindicators*, *Defenders*, *Letter-writers*, &c. with the very same clamour in their mouths against him, for *subverting the whole Church of England*, by which the snarling bigots of their party have been encouraged to worry the Author of *The Confessional*. I say not this to discourage the worthy *Addresser* or his friends from his noble and laudable purpose. He would not find a man in the kingdom more ready to join him, or more willing to sacrifice every thing which might look like a private prejudice, to promote such a desirable comprehension as he speaks of, than myself. I

no doubt, with a very good grace from a man who compares his adversary to “a *Newgate-bird*, as intending little less than the subversion of the whole Church of *England*, just as felons and murderers would, if they could, “overturn all legislation and magistracy.”

Leaving the remainder of this dull, abusive, hypocritical cant to its natural operation upon those for whom only it is calculated, the *ignorant*, and the *credulous*, I shall proceed to consider some of the Letter-writer’s strictures on the Preface, which may seem to be of more consequence.

The Author of the *Preface* had said, p. xvi. “I am not sure that he would be mistaken, who should affirm of the Church of *England*, (what *Luther* did of the Church of *Rome*) that the remonstrances of these *Disquisitioners* have ren-

mean only to warn him what he is to expect. I would willingly persuade myself, that the *Addresser* and the Author of *The Confessional* have but one object, the promotion of evangelical Truth, Piety, Peace, and Virtue among mankind. If they see the *means* in a different light, they have a claim upon each other for *candour*, *civility*, and *mutual forbearance*. And though they may differ concerning *negative sanctions*, *self-dispensations*, *responsibility*, &c. with respect to *Latitude*, whether in judgment or practice, I am sure they agree in one thing, namely, in a persuasion, that an obstinate adherence to our present forms will ever be obstructive of religious edification among our people, as well as of concord and charity among their teachers.

“ dered the Church more firm and inflexible,
 “ even with respect to some particulars which
 “ seemed to be given up on all hands, till they
 “ were pointed out for reformation by these idle
 “ and visionary men.”

“ This,” he calls, “ a mere groundless accusation ; for *Luther*,” says he, “ to whom you
 “ refer, you acknowledge to speak only, and he
 “ could speak only, of the Church of *Rome*,”
 p. 13.

This now is charitable and gracious ; for without this explanation of matters, some of his readers, and even some of his admirers, might possibly have taken it into their heads, that *Luther* had spoken of the Church of *England*, and that too as it hath stood since the days of the Disquisitors.

But I cannot commend his integrity so much in what follows, as by his unfair and trickish management he makes *Luther* appear more submissive to the Church of *Rome* than he really was, and, consequently, to put the Church of *Rome* in the right and himself in the wrong. Let us examine it.

He pretends to qualify *Luther's* censure of his popish adversaries, cited in the *Preface*, with some of his sentiments in the context, as exhibited in *Seckendorf*, and begins with translating the

the words, *alia est concordia fidei, alia charitatis*, by, "Such agreement may respect either articles of faith or offices of peace and SUBMISSION;" *i. e.* (to remind him of his own ingenuity) *submission* to the Church of Rome.

Again, Luther says, *Omnia facere, pati, servare paratissimi semper fuimus, quæcunque salvâ fide præcipi, injungi, & referri possent ab adversariis*. "The Protestants," says the translator, "have ever been most ready to do, to undergo, and to observe whatever their SUPERIORS were please to require and IMPOSE, where fundamental articles are not concerned." And fundamental articles he explains to mean, *Articles of faith* only; representing the sole obstruction to Luther's agreement with the Church of Rome to be, her "requiring assent to articles of *faith*, which manifestly contradict Scripture."

Which is done like an able craftsman, first turning Luther's *adversaries* into *superiors*, and then giving them leave to *impose* whatever they please upon him, save only *articles of faith*, contradictory to Scripture. And to this only we are to suppose the restriction, *salvâ fide*, extends. And having made up his case, he thus proceeds to sentence.

"Now, Sir, if you and the disquisitors have "proved that WE" (having the Church of England in our belly) "impose *articles of faith*, as

“ necessary to be believed to salvation, and which
 “ we obstinately defend, but which we were
 “ ready to have given up before you or they
 “ wrote, the Church of *England* is condemned
 “ eventually in this preface.”—Otherwise, as it
 follows, the condemnation falls upon the Disqui-
 sitors and the Author of *The Confessional*.

We move however in arrest of judgment, and
 alledge a falsification of the record ; for besides
 that *Luther* mentions *doctrinæ concordiam*, as well
 as *fidei*, he hath, in this same preface, these re-
 markable words ; *Cum interim non cessent papistæ*
nostrum sanguinem fundere et haurire — nullam ob
causam, nisi quod, contra conscientiam, non possumus
HUMANAS eorum TRADITIONES Deo et verbo ejus
æquare, vel potius super Deum et cultum ejus ex-
altare. We have therefore to add to *articles of*
faith, these *human traditions*, as equally preven-
 tive of concord, and equally among the things,
 which *at that time the Papists more rigidly and*
obstinately defended than ever. Nor need we
 scruple to call many of those things which the
 Disquisitors proposed to have removed, and which
 many wise and worthy Divines of the Church
 of *England* had been disposed before their time
 to have given up, by the name of *human tradi-*
tions.

We

We have only therefore to consider how the case hath stood, since the days of the *Free and candid Disquisitions*.

The compilers of that work, presuming upon the many concessions they had quoted from Divines of the first reputation in the Church of *England*, concerning many alterations that might and ought to have been made in our public forms, had no doubt but their proposals would be, if not complied with, received with a candid forbearance, if it was only for the meekness and modesty with which they were addressed to the public in general, and to the venerable Fathers of the church in particular.

Instead of that, besides cart-loads of virulent abuse, they were frankly told, that “ this attempt of altering our common prayers, was
“ *well known* to have had the fewest patrons
“ among the worthy clergy, as well as among our
“ illustrious and worthy Governors in church and
“ state, that, perhaps, any other scheme ever
“ met with, that has been thus publicly offered
“ to them.”

Again. Mr. *White*, who was always understood to write by *authority*, informs us in the Preface to his *Free and impartial Considerations* &c. that, “ when those papers were *first* drawn
“ up, some few alterations and amendments,

^z Appeal for a Review, Part ii. p. 87.

“ such

“such as he judged were most necessary, and
 “might be ventured upon *without hazard*, were
 “pointed out and recommended; and even
 “a way (in several particulars different from
 “that which is offered by the authors of the
 “*Disquisitions*) was humbly proposed, wherein,
 “he conceived, such amendments might proper-
 “ly be made, when those in authority should
 “think fit to enter upon such matters ^a.”

A confession that *amendments* in our public forms were *proper*, and an inclination to point them out, must have been, in so strenuous a defender of the established system against the Dissenters, the effect of an uncommon conviction that there was something very much amiss, where, in his opinion, any thing wanted to be amended. But then the HAZARD! Aye, there was the rub. — “These *pointings out*, therefore, upon second thoughts, and by the advice of those whose judgement he greatly revered, and could not easily allow himself in any thing to differ from, he almost entirely omitted, confining himself chiefly to considerations of a more general nature;” about which his advisers knew he might harangue for seven times seven years without the least *hazard* of disturbing any thing by *amendment*. And such impressions had these second thoughts, and this advice made upon

^a Preface, p. iv.

him, that by the time he got to the middle of the next page, he took the courage to question, whether there are any such things in our public worship as *are not fairly defensible*.

It was indeed but an awkward circumstance that Mr. *White* should drop these apocalyptical anecdotes, for which, I believe, those who employed him would not thank him. But others, who wanted to know the temper of the times, thought themselves obliged to him.

The next year, the reverend Dr. *Shuckford* preached the annual sermon or lecture founded by one Mr. *Hutchins*, in defence of the Liturgy, wherein, at p. 22, the preacher says, "The Church of *England*, without controversy, "is founded upon the principles of order: its "faith is deduced *only* from Scripture; its worship is so framed as to answer well all the ends "of a reasonable service of God, truly to set "forth his honour and glory, by leading his "people to believe and to do as becometh the "gospel of Christ."

There have, nevertheless, been many important objections made both to the doctrine and worship of the Church of *England*, which imply that large abatements ought to be made in this account, with respect to particulars, in both.

Of this the preacher is conscious; and therefore, in order to obviate the prejudices that
might

might arise from this consideration, he proposes this question, "*Has the Church of England absolute perfection?*" His answer is, "*Let not this question once be named?*" But why not, if his representation be just? Is he afraid the Church, after all his encomiums, should not stand the test? Be that as it might, his reason is, "*Because, alter what we will, to contrive and establish any thing ABSOLUTELY PERFECT never can be in the power of man in this imperfect state.*"

What a pity St. Paul did not recollect this pious aphorism when he exhorted the *Hebrews* to go on unto PERFECTION^b? Dr. Shuckford, it seems, was of another opinion; and exhorted us to *stop where we are*, since every alteration for the better would be going on, one step at least, towards *absolute perfection*, to which it is impossible to attain, in this *imperfect* state.

I do not meddle with the *wisdom* or *propriety* of this reason. It is no great matter what they were; the *reason* did its business as well as a better, which was to give his audience first, and afterwards the public, to understand, that, *reason or none*, not a tittle of the public service was to be altered.

Whether any wicked wit had smiled at these instances of the *good sense* and *consistency* of the defenders of the Liturgy, I cannot say. But I

^b Chap. vi. 1.

well remember, that somebody or other about that time said, the same reasons might have been given for continuing the Popish Missal. For it seems the Papists pretended to a *scriptural foundation* for their *human traditions* in *Martin Luther's* time, as appears by a passage in the preface above-cited ^c.

Alterations, therefore, were to be precluded by a *Protestant authority*, and a *pretence* for this was not long in making its appearance, namely, a provision in an Act of Parliament securing *unalterably* (according to Bishop *Gibson*) the doctrine, worship, discipline, and government of the Church of *England*, which act was made a fundamental and essential part of the Union ^d. And the

^c *At Papistæ, inquires, doctrinam Christi æque jactant. Jactant sane, sed ex fructibus arbor cognoscitur.* Seckendorf, part iii. p. 54.

^d See *Gibson's Camden*, vol. ii. p. 1123, and *Burnet's Hist. O. T.* vol. ii. p. 463. whose account is this: "The Archbishop of *Canterbury* moved that a bill might be brought in for securing the Church of *England*; by it, all acts passed in favour of our church were declared to be in full force for ever; and this was made a fundamental and essential part of the Union. Some exceptions were taken to the words of the Bill, as not so strong as the Act passed in *Scotland* seemed to be, since the government of it [the Church of *England*] was not declared to be *unalterable*. But they were judged more proper, since, where a *supreme legislature* is once acknowledged, *nothing can be unalterable*." So indeed I should have thought, and that the Church of *England* might be a little more at liberty with respect to alterations at
conclusion

conclusion drawn from these premisses was, that any alterations of the public forms of the Church of *England* would be a breach of the Union.

It is not to be told what exultation this discovery occasioned among the *anti-reformers*. It was the favourite Topic at the tables of the great, it was puffed about in *Magazines* and *News-papers*, harangued upon in certain Societies, and now, in process of time, has got into a Law-book.

In one thing indeed I must blame the author of the *Confessional*. He has too inadvertently suspected the Church of *England* of this incorrigible spirit, which in truth belongs only to the WEES of one GROUPE who pretend to answer for her. The Church of *England* freely acknowledges, that her *ceremonies* at least, that is, her *human traditions* are *alterable*, and indeed whatever else *by the wit of man is devised*^e, and that

least than the Church of *Scotland*, if these gentlemen had not been so peremptory in the contrary opinion. I have heard it said by a lawyer of the first reputation, that all acts of parliament, whose duration is not expressly limited to a certain term, are in *full force for ever*, till they are actually repealed. Bishop *Burnet*, without doubt, knew better than Bishop *Gibson* the intention of the legislature of that time; and if ever the day should come when the question should be concerning the episcopizing of *Scotland*, *Burnet's* construction of the Statute would, with these same gentlemen, be the most orthodox.

* See the several Prefaces before the Book of Common Prayer.
for

for a very good reason, because it is liable to be *corrupted*. And as these declarations have the sanction of one of those Acts of Parliament which are to continue *in full force for ever*, they who espouse Bishop *Gibson's* comment on the act of security must be left to reconcile these matters as well as they can.

If the Letter-writer should still call for an instance of an increased adherence, since the Free and candid Disquisitions were published, with respect to *articles of faith*; though the author of the Preface is under no obligation to gratify him, yet possibly enough he might avail himself of certain transactions relating to the *Athanasian Creed*.

Archbishop *Tillotson's* opinion of that formulary of faith, is well known. Instances have likewise been given, from *Waterland*, *Wheatley*, and others, of allowances that should be made with respect to the *damnatory clauses*.

That ingenious expositor Dr. *Bennet* seems to go still farther, in saying, that, "in the use of
" the Athanasian Creed, we do not declare that
" the belief of every proposition thereof is necessary to salvation, and that such a belief is not
" thought by our church to be necessary to
" that End ^f."

^f Dr. *Bennet's* Appendix to his treatise on the Common Prayer, p. 272.

What

What authority Dr. *Bennet* had to say this, he best knew. Appearances, it must be owned, are strongly against him. And therefore some worthy clergymen, relying more upon the moderation of their Governors than upon Dr. *Bennet*, and knowing that tradesmen, mechanics, and country farmers are very apt to take things in the plain sense in which they are expressed, and that there is not always at hand a Dr. *Bennet* to develop reconдите meanings to them——upon these and the like considerations, I say, several worthy clergymen ventured to omit this creed when it came in its turn, in the course of their ministrations. And though this was a pretty common practice, yet I believe it would be difficult to produce an instance of any prosecution for such omission for many years before the days of *Disquisition*.

Now I think these concessions and this connivance shew sufficiently, that there was a pretty general disposition to *give up* this Creed, and especially if what Dr. *Bennet* says is true, viz. that “the church of *England* does not think the “belief of every proposition in that Creed to be “necessary to Salvation ;” for as the church of *England* hath not distinguished between the propositions which *are*, and those which *are not* necessary to be believed to that end, neither Dr. *Bennet*, nor Dr. *Waterland*, nor any other Doctor, hath a right to make the distinction in the name
of

of the church of *England*; and the consequence will be, that it does not appear that the church of *England* thinks the belief of *any* of the propositions in that Creed necessary to salvation; and if not, why should not the whole Creed be given up?

However, in no long time after the *Free and candid Disquisitions* appeared, a prosecution was set on foot against a clergyman, beneficed in the Diocese of *Canterbury*, for taking the liberty to omit this Creed, when it was enjoined to be read &c. Whereby an hint was given to others, that no farther indulgence was to be allowed in like cases.

I omit the case of Dr. *Clayton*, the late learned and worthy Bishop of *Clogher* (who fell a sacrifice to his free sentiments concerning this Creed), because it may be said, it is not an *English* example. Be it observed, however, that some, who were among the foremost of his adversaries, carried both their spirit and their principles

§ Dr. *Carter* of *Deale* in *Kent*. A full view of this remarkable case may be had by perusing the following Tracts. A letter to the Mayor and Corporation of *Deale* in *Kent*, printed for *Shuckburgh*, 1752. Dr. *CARTER*'s sermon before the said Mayor and Corporation, August 9, 1752, with a remarkable Preface, printed by *Cave*. Dr. *Herbert Randolph*'s sermon, preached in the Parish Church of *Deale*, October 15, 1752. Printed at *Oxford*, with the Vice-Chancellor's *Imprimatur*. Dr. *Randolph* was supposed to have had a hand in the presentation of Dr. *Carter*.

over with them from *England*, which were much of the same complexion with those of our *Letter-writer*, on the same subject ^h. But this *ex abundanti*.

The *Letter-writer* acknowledges, p. 15. that
 “ Persons disaffected to the church of *England*
 “ as it now stands may not *so* easily get prefer-
 “ ment ;” to which he adds, “ And you, Sir,
 “ if you had power, I fear, would be full as
 “ apt to put those who dissent from your noti-
 “ ons, into what you call the starving inquisi-
 “ tion as any of the Bishops are.”

How come the Bishops in here? Have the Bishops occasion to be vindicated by a comparison of their conduct with the supposed disposition of the author of the *Preface*? will their Lordships thank him for his compliment? especially when it is considered, that by “ Persons

^h It was reported about that time, that Bishop *Clayton's* speech and motion in Parliament prevented his advancement to the Archbishoprick of *Cashel*. Some people, who were not unconscious of the proceedings in *Ireland*, were said to have *boasted*, that the Bishop of *Clogher* was *fretted to Death*. It is not improbable that the proceedings in *Ireland* might have had *Englisch* consequences, if the liberal-minded Prelate, then newly promoted to the See of *Canterbury*, had not, upon being applied to, absolutely refused to give any countenance to those Proceedings. However, if the *Letter-writer* should think this an instance in point against the author of the *Preface*, let him reflect that it is *rara avis*, and that himself has furnished us with an anecdote to balance it, namely, that this respectable Prelate did not patronize the *Free and Candid Disquisitions*.

“ disaffected

"disaffected to the church of England, as it now stands," he *ought* to mean no more than persons who desire to see a reformation in the church of *England*, and who have been thought by men, and even by some bishops (full as wise, and good as the *Letter-writer*) to be the church of England's very affectionate friends?

But whence does he conclude, that the author of the *Preface*, if he had power, would be no better than the bishops. It is from the circumstance, it seems, that "*his* articles are but imperfectly known."

Now I know of no *articles* proposed by the author of the *Preface*,—none indeed which he seems willing to admit of, besides those in the holy scriptures. If *those* articles are but imperfectly known to the *Letter-writer*, he is to be pitied, being so *well affected* to the church of England *as it now stands*. But surely it is not so *civil* to make this declaration on the behalf of the whole groupe for which he undertakes to answer. But the Bishops had had *their* compliment, and the subalterns must not be overlooked¹.

The next occasion of offence is, that the *Prefacer* hath called the few answers that have been

¹ Two or three of them indeed seem to have accepted it, with great complacency, *viz.* The facetious author of the *Doubts*, the judicious Dr. *Nowell*, and the sagacious writer on *Confessions*, who have endeavoured to return it, by bearing their testimony to the *excellence* of his *Letters*.

made to the remonstrances for a farther reformation, *weak* answers; and to this the *Letter-writer* puts in his claim to think differently of their strength, on account of his "right of private judgment." p. 15.

Which I dare say will be readily admitted by the author of the *Preface*, provided the *Letter-writer* will agree to submit the points in difference to a fair examination.

So far as I have seen of this controversy, the great objection brought to the arguments of the Anti-reformers has been, that arguments of the same tendency, and some of them equally strong, were brought by Papists against *Luther's* Reformation, and even by the Jews and Heathens against the propagation of Christianity.

Some of these arguments are advanced by the *Letter-writer* to confront the *Prefacer*, in which however I can find nothing but what a Pharisee or an Ephesian Craftsman might have alledged against the first preachers of the Gospel, or an *Eccius* or a *Prierias* against the German Protestants, with equal pertinence and propriety.

For example. The doctrine of the first Christian teachers was such as both the Jews and Heathens understood would, in the event, subvert their respective establishments. And their arguments were, of the first, *If we let him thus alone, all men will believe on him*; of the others, *that Paul persuaded and turned away much people*, which tended to ruin the establishment of
the

the great Goddess *Diana*. The Papists were equally alarmed and equally concerned at the progress of the Protestant Reformation, and the inroads it made upon the *strength* of their party.

The same apprehensions possess our Letter-writer. "Few, if *any* of them (says he, meaning Dissenters) would come over to us, if "they were relieved in relation to *some* scruples; "and if alterations were made with respect to "others, *more* of our own people would leave "us, than we should gain from them." p. 16.—No matter whether the scruples in question are just or reasonable or not, the grand consideration is, what numbers we should gain or lose; and if the alterations would put us upon the losing side, good Policy determines how we should act.

He says indeed, "there are some alterations "which cannot be made without sin." *Ibid*.

I wish he had specified some of the alterations he means. There is a brother-craft, and a great admirer of his Letters, who seems to me to have made an unlucky concession, that will certainly require some explanation, from the one or the other of them.

The case is this. By way of precedent for establishing unscriptural or systematical forms of faith and doctrine, the anticonfessionalists have informed us, that there were in the primitive church certain fixed formularies of apostolic au-

thority, lodged with the Bishops of those days as a *κλήμα ες αεί*, a sacred depositum, to be referred to at all times as a standard of orthodoxy. These formularies, it is confessed, no longer appear. And to obviate the charge of unfaithfulness or negligence in those who suppressed them, or suffered them to be lost, the author of *Letters concerning Confessions of Faith, &c.* occasioned by the *Confessional*, thinks it was prudent in these bishops, after a certain time, “to prevent these apostolic forms appearing any more:” and this for *two* reasons, 1. “that these formularies being rather *human* than *divine*, it was *not necessary* that they should be preserved with the same care as the divine writings: and 2. that the variation of the cases and situations of particular churches, and of the same church at different times, might make it *prudent* to *vary* these old apostolic forms,” even, we must suppose, till there should not be one shred of the old formularies left; for that is the case at this period ^k.

Now what I would know of the Remarker on the Preface to *The Confessional* is, whether those Forms which he thinks it *sinful* to alter have more of the *divine* in them, than those apostolic forms entrusted to the primitive bishops? If he cannot support this supposition, he is desired to be very explicit in his information, what cir-

^k See Letters, p. 33, 34.

cumstance either of *necessity* or *prudence* it is, which would make it *sinful* in our present Church governors to alter *any* of our present forms, that would not have made it sinful in the old fathers to alter forms, of at least equal authority?

It has been formerly recommended to the Gentlemen who labour in the good work of answering *The Confessional*, to confer notes with each other, previous to their respective publications, that they may not be perpetually drawing each other into those *fatal* scrapes.

The author of the *Preface* is charged with *want of Decency*, for giving the epithet of *backney'd*, to certain forms in frequent use in the church of *England*.

But where is decency violated by this expression? which seems to have been intended, not so much to undervalue the forms themselves, as to reprove the practice of those who are so commonly observed to dispatch them *upon the spur*. At the worst, it is full as decent as the terms, *impertinent* and *strange*, applied by the commissioners of 1689, to some of these forms¹. What does he think of a *doctrine skulking in an old Homily*, to which he himself has subscribed *ex animo*, and which actually *skulked* in the act of Uniformity till the Revolution, and *skulks* in the

¹ See Dr. Birch's *Life of Archbishop Tillotson*, octavo, p. 195.

Homily to this hour; in an Homily appointed to be read once, if not twice, in every year^m.

But these were great learned men who took these freedoms, and who were *very well able to answer for themselves*, and did not want the *Letter-writer's* admonitions.

The Prefacer, p. xviii, xix, had mentioned his apprehensions, that “some aukward constructions might be put on the conduct of those men who have passed by serious and important remonstrances on the article of a farther reformation, with a supercilious contempt; when contrasted with their weekly exhortations to christian piety and virtue, or the zeal they occasionally express for the protestant religion and government; in so far as to bring their sincerity in question.”

^m On the 30th of January, are appointed to be read, the *first* and *second* parts of the Homily against *Disobedience* and *willfull Rebellion*. On the 5th of *November*, one of the Six Homilies against Rebellion; any *one* of the six, and on a day when solemn thanks are given to God, “for delivering our church and nation from Popish Tyranny and arbitrary power, by bringing in King *William III.*” Now what were the *means* of this deliverance? Even the expulsion of another King, who if the Homilists are to be credited, ought not to have been resisted at any rate. The act of Uniformity stands in every one's view who has a common prayer book, which made it necessary to take away this doctrine out of it, by another act. In the Homily it still *skulks*, but is subscribed to, to this day.—Is a change *here* wrong and unreasonable, or of little moment?

This

This our *Letter-writer* confronts with the following representation. “ The Clergy of the “ Church of *England* encourage no changes in “ ecclesiastical matters which they think wrong “ and unreasonable, and are not vehement for “ others which they think of little moment. “ THEREFORE, notwithstanding lives uniformly “ and diligently spent in practising and teaching “ the Protestant doctrine, and supporting by “ word or deed our civil establishment, they are “ Hypocrites void of all regard for either,” p. 18.—And then, addressing himself to the author of the *Preface*, he asks, “ Can you seriously judge thus?”

Why truly, to be plain with him, if the *Prefacer* did not judge *thus* before, this representation is enough to make him judge *thus* of the *Letter-writer* and *his* Clergy; one can hardly conceive a stronger exhibition of Pharisaical boasting, even in the original Prototypes of ecclesiastical pride and hypocrisy. “ WE are the “ *sole* judges of what changes are or are not “ wrong and unreasonable, of little or great “ moment, in ecclesiastical affairs. And we ought “ to be supreme and uncontrollable in this province, BECAUSE we are uniform and diligent “ in practising and teaching the Protestant doctrine, and supporting by word or deed our “ civil establishment.”

What think you, Sir? are not these premises sufficient to authorize any conclusion that
may

may be made in favour of clerical authority? Are they not a very proper preface to an *exculpation* from the charge of *self-adulation*? which is the next thing that comes under our consideration, and which I shall examine very particularly, as it will afford us a complete view of the principles of the *Letter-writer*, which on some other occasions he chooses not to own.

The church of *England*, you will please to observe, is to be defended from the charge of *self-adulation*, by the testimony of three foreigners in her favour, who are supposed to be totally disinterested, as having no connexion with her in point of Conformity.

These three are, *Hugo Grotius*, his son *Peter*, and *Isaac Casaubon*; and their evidence is cited from their Letters written at different and very distant periods, and when the church of England was in very different situations.

Casaubon's testimony is the first in order of time, and is taken from a letter of his to *Salmasius*, dated *London*, Nov. 10, 1612ⁿ. A circumstance by no means convenient for the *Letter-writer* to disclose. The passage is this:

Quod si me conjectura non fallit, totius Reformationis pars integerrima est in Anglia, ubi cum studio veritatis viget studium antiquitatis; quam certi homines dum spernunt, in laqueos se induunt, unde nisi mendacio postea exuere se nequeunt.

ⁿ It is the 709th of the Brunswick edition, of 1656.

Now to this testimony we object, I. on account of the incompetency of the witness, and, II. with respect to the matter of his evidence.

1. *Casaubon* was, at this time, a Conformist to the Church of England; and enjoyed two prebends, the one in the church of *Canterbury*, the other in that of *Westminster* °. Consequently he can not be admitted to give his evidence as a *foreign Protestant*, being one of the family at that time, and concerned to support the *self-adulation* as much as any of them.

2. He was strongly, and not unjustly, suspected of an inclination to turn Papist P, and most probably would have done it, had not *Henry IV.* died when he did ¶. The only question seems to

° *Biographia Britannica*.

¶ See his letter to *Daniel Heinsius*, N° 634, of the edition above mentioned. There is something suppressed in that copy of it, which is restored in the *Amsterdam* edition of *Epist. Præstant. et erudit. virorum*, 1660, p. 344. See likewise *Epistres Françaises des personnages illustres et doctes à Monsieur Jos. de la Scala*, collected by *Revinus*. *Hardeirwick*, 1624, Liv. iii. epist. 42. p. 419, from Mr. *Gillot* to *Scaliger*, where, after giving an account of the noise that *Casaubon's* expected conversion had made at *Paris*, and particularly of his conference with Cardinal *Perron*, he adds, “*Je croy que ou il vous escrira, ou vous en a escrit, et vous envoyera l'epistre qu'il escrivit à Monsieur du Perron sur ce sujet.*” But *Gillot* was mistaken. For though *Casaubon* did write an account of his conferences with *Fronto Ducaeus* and other Jesuits to *Scaliger*, yet he made no mention of that Letter, nor of any debate with Cardinal *Perron*, in it.

¶ *Grotius* affirms it without scruple. *Quod Auratus fecit*, (speaking of one *D'or*, who had turned papist) *idem fecit antehac vir doctissimus P. Pithœus: idem constituerat facere CASAU-*

have been, whether Cardinal *Perron* or the Jesuits should have the honour of converting him. The Cardinal says, that *Casaubon* was once so fully determined to change, that he desired *Perron* to name a day when he might make his abjuration ^r.

BONUS *si in Gallia mansisset, affirmavit enim id, inter alios, etiam Cordeſio [Descordes].* Grot. epist. 610, p. 939. In another epistle he says, *Casaubonus Saniores multo putabat Catholicos Galliæ, quam Carentonianos,* epist. 1613, p. 940. They of *Charenton* knew this very well, and of his wavering between the Protestant and the Popish faith, and therefore obliged him to explain himself, in a letter which they took care to have printed. *Biog. Brit.* CASAUBON [ISAAC]. This forced meat *Casaubon* did not relish; and therefore, when he got into *England*, he abused the ministers of *Charenton* heartily, in that letter abovementioned written to *Heinsius*: and likewise in this to *Salmasius*, from which our Letter-writer hath cited this testimony in favour of the Church of *England*. It seems, the French Protestants did not think *Casaubon* proof against Popery even in *England*. *Peter du Moulin* wrote to Dr. *James Mountague* bishop of *Bath* and *Wells*, to inform him “that *Casaubon* “had a great inclination to Popery, that there were only a “few articles that kept him among the Protestants, and that “if he returned to *France*, he would change his religion as he “had promised; and therefore he desired the Bishop to endeavour to keep him in *England*, and to engage him to write “against the *Annals of Baronius*.” *Biog. Brit.* [L].

^r *Perroniana*, au motte CASAUBON. What it was that disappointed this ceremony, is not said. Probably a political reason, respecting both sides. For *Perron* thought that *Casaubon*, without professing Popery, would do more good to the catholic religion than was imagined; and says that Monsieur *Boderie* demanded his Congé for a year, on account of the service he would do to religion among the English.” *Ibid.* In which they were not deceived. It is probable, *Scaliger* was aware of *Casaubon*’s duplicity. He did not like his journey to

On

On these accounts, we are well justified in objecting to *Casaubon's* testimony, as an indifferent witness on the behalf of the Church of *England*.

II. We object to the *matter* of *Casaubon's* testimony, in placing the *integrity* of the Church of *England* in the study of, or attachment to, *antiquity*. Part of this antiquity which *Casaubon* so much approved of, was the introduction of pagan rites, and pagan names for Christian rites into the church, by the Fathers. The Protestant Church of *England* abhors the practice; and what *Casaubon* meant for a compliment to the church of King *James's* days, would deservedly be esteemed her reproach in the present times^s.

England; and says, he had no invitation thither but from a Secretary, who wrote a letter to him, *in scio Rege*, and prophesied *Casaubon* would get nothing by going there; in which however *Scaliger* was mistaken. * See l'Histoire de l'Edit de *Nantes*, vol. I. p. 349.

* See *The Confessional*, 2d edit. p. 334, note f; but more especially *Le Clerc's* *Bibliothèque Choisie*, Tom XIX. Art. IV. p. 231. e. q. f. where *Casaubon* is justly reprehended for a conduct so inconsistent with the character of a Protestant Divine, and represented as a man having his head heated with expressions of the Fathers, which are highly improper, and which have no foundation in the first institution. One of *Casaubon's* reasons for approving and defending this practice, was its *expedience* in order to reconcile the Pagans to the Christian faith and worship. Whereupon *Le Clerc* remarks, that "the Fathers did not bring pagan rites and pagan terms into Christian worship by way of *condescension*, knowing them to

2. To *Casaubon* the *English* Prebendary, we oppose the testimony of *Casaubon* the foreign Protestant, who tells Cardinal *Perron*, in the letter which the Pastors of *Charenton* made him write, and took care to publish, that “the Protestants, trusting to the power of God (meaning the efficacy of the Holy Spirit mentioned just before), were ready to shew, that the Papists boasted of *Antiquity* in vain, who, undervaluing the Scriptures, in a manner surprising to the Protestants, substitute the authority of *Antiquity* in the room of reason^t.”

“be otherwise improper; but they mingled their own pagan opinions and practices with Christianity, without being aware of it.” *Ibid.* p. 232. in agreement with the observation of an eminent Prelate of the present time, that “the Fathers undertook the defence of Christianity before they understood it.” The truth is, *Casaubon* was antiquity mad, and bore down every protestant principle to make way for it, for which he sometimes got very handsomely reprov'd. See a Letter of *Andrew Reuchlin* to him. *Præst. ac Erudit. vir. Epistolæ, &c.* Amsterdam, 1660, oct. pag. 422. These extravagancies were highly agreeable to the King and the English Bishops of those times. *Casaubon*, however, had his lucid intervals, and in one instance at least was not mouldy enough for his masters. He happened to agree with *Scaliger*, that the Sibylline verses were spurious, which brought upon him the indignation of Dr. *Richard Mountagu* bishop of *Norwich*, expressed in his *Acts and Monuments of the Church*, chap. iii. It should seem as if this Prelate had a quarrel with *Casaubon* on some other account. See *Bibliothèque Choysie*, Tom. iii. Art. iii. p. 191.

^t *Nos freti virtute Dei, parati sumus offendere, frustra antiquitatem ab illis jactari, qui sacræ scripturæ, miris modis, ut qui-*

The

The next affidavit in course of time, brought by the Letter-writer, is that of the great *Hugo Grotius*, cited from an Epistle to *John Corvinus*, and dated *Paris*, May 28, 1638, at a period when Archbishop *Laud* was in all his glory, *praising God for that power he had given to the church to rule the consciences of men*^u. Upon the accession of this Prelate to the See of *Canterbury*, *Grotius* wrote him a complimenting Letter, congratulating the church of *England*, upon her having a President, who would, as far as circumstances would allow, recall all things to the purest pattern of ancient Christianity^w. This being premised, we procede to exhibit the testimony.

In Anglia vides quam bene processerit dogmatum noxiorum repurgatio, hac maxime de causa, quod qui sanctissimum negotium procurandum suscepere, nihil admiscuerunt novi, nihil sui, sed ad meliora sæcula intentam habuere oculorum aciem^x.

dem videtur nobis, detrahentes, vetustatis auctoritatem pro ratione obtendunt, epist. 360. Here seems to be a very fair and full appeal from *all Ecclesiastical antiquity*, to scripture and reason. But his drawbacks upon this true state of the case, which he made when he got among the *φίλαρχοι* of *England*, by distinguishing between *true* and *spurious* antiquity, and classing the adoption of Pagan rites under the former of these denominations, spoiled all.

^u See Mrs. Macaulay's History, vol. IV. p. 151.

^w Epist. 372. p. 136.

^x Epist. 966. p. 434. It seems *Grotius's* wife had said, that her husband's religion "was the faith of the ancient Fathers." Mr. *Corvinus*,

Corvinus, to whom this epistle was written, was, as we perceive from the former part of it, a great admirer of Ecclesiastical antiquity, a warm advocate for *Grotius's* project of uniting the Papists and the Protestants upon the system of the Fathers, in the promoting of which, *Grotius* acknowledges, he was an industrious hand. A project, by the way, which no man (who was not a dupe and a visionary) ever espoused, without meaning to bring the Protestants over to the Papists.

Le Clerc, a much greater admirer of *Grotius*, than he was of a whole cart-load of Fathers, would needs have these ancient Fathers to be, the first disciples of the Apostles. Why not the Apostles themselves? The truth is, *Le Clerc* knew *Grotius* neither meant the one nor the other: but this he was not to own to *Arnauld* and *Jurieu*, with whom he was at war. *Grotius* had explained himself too often and too clearly on this head for any man to mistake him. He calls the rule of the Council of *Trent*, viz, that the scriptures are not to be interpreted but by the unanimous consent of the Fathers, *a most wise one*. Rivet. Apolog. Discuss. p. 725. And of the Acts of that Council in general, he says, *si quis leget animo ad pacem propenso, is inveniet ea commodè et convenienter, tum sacrarum scripturarum, tum veterum doctorum locis ad marginem positis, posse explicari*. Opusc. Theol. fol. p. 682. These and the like commodious explications gave *Burigni*, the catholic writer of *Grotius's* Life, room to claim him as a *Stray* of mother church; and indeed I do not know who can shew a better title to him.

Casaubon was another of these reconcilers, and was mad enough to think, or courtier enough to say, that Cardinal *Perron* was a very proper person to bring the *Union* about. But when the Jesuits began to abuse him for his Epistle to *Fronto*

From

From these anecdotes we learn, that the *noxia dogmata* intended by *Grotius* were, those doctrines and principles which tended to check the tyrannical practices of the domineering Prelates of those times; that the *repurgation* of them consisted in inflicting fines and imprisonments, whippings, and mutilation of ears and noses, and other wholesome severities of the Pillory and the Gibbet; that there was no *innovation* in those consecrations, bowings, images, and genuflexions, branded by the Puritan-Parliament as Popish inventions; nor in those exemptions from all temporal jurisdiction, which the clergy claimed, and, with the archbishop at their head, attempted to have confirmed; and finally, that the whole of *Laud's* reformation was *sanctissimum negotium*, a most holy business, for which, they who undertook it deserved to be canonized.

But the pleasant part of the story is still behind. Immediately after *Grotius* has paid his compliment to the church of *England*, he brings in *Socinus* for a share of it.

“*Socinus*, says he, without designing it, sometimes stumbled upon the senses of the ancient church, and, being ingenious, cultivated that province very happily. He mixed indeed other

Ducæus, he changed his note, and, in a peevish fit, threw out to an anonymous correspondent, *Jam intelligo meram esse insaniam sperare, posse aliquid profici MODERATIONE.* *Epist. Brand. p. 979.*

E

“ things

“ things with those senses, which detracted from
 “ his authority even when he delivered the
 “ truth ^z. ”

What a pity *Socinus* did not stick to these senses of antiquity *unmixed* ! What an opportunity did he here lose of vying in orthodoxy with Archbishop *Laud* ! and of what significance was it, in comparison with this honour, what should become of those truths which were out of the pale of Antiquity !

Our Letter-writer's third and last testimony is from *Peter Grotius* the son of *Hugo*, exhibited in an epistle dedicatory of his father's annotations on the Old Testament, to our King *Charles II*.

A man must be hard run for evidence, when he fetches it out of a Dedication, and a Dedication too to a Sovereign Prince, to say nothing of the personal Character of the patron. However, let us hear it ; and that it may lose nothing of its weight, the reader shall have a little more of it than the Letter-writer thought it *necessary* to communicate :

Tu enim inter omnes reges, unus ille es quem protectorem suum, pars Christiani orbis, si non major, sanior certe, jamdiu agnoscit. Tu idem ille cujus [se] fidei et defensionis ipsa se fides Chris-

^z *SOCINUS*, non hoc agens, in antiquæ ecclesiæ sensus non nunquam incidit, et eas partes, ut ingenio valebat, percoluit feliciter. Admisit alia, quæ, etiam vera dicenti, auctoritatem detraxere.

tiana non invita subjecit, cujus potissimum in regnis, is sacrarum literarum intellectus, is Divini Numinis cultus, is in excercendâ nimia illa disputandi licentia de arcanis fidei dogmatibus licentia, receptus est modus, quibuscum convenire se auctor, idemque parens meus, jampridem testatus est, et publice scriptis suis professus est.

Now, in the first place, I would desire to know by what authority this *Letter-writer* would engross *all* this *sanity* to the church of *England*? How will he go about to prove, that the Dedicator did not intend to compliment the Monarch with the *protection* of *all* the Reformed churches in *Europe*? He hath committed, we see, the Christian faith itself to King *Charles's* fidelity and defence; and I would hope that this *Peter Grotius* did not mean to confine the Christian Faith to the dominions of the King of *England*. But then you will say, what a small portion of this *sanity* will fall to our share, if it is to be parcelled out to Presbyterians, Independents, Anabaptists, Quakers, and what not that calls itself *Protestant*!

Have patience; honest *Peter* perhaps may make us amends, by his enumeration of those advantages which he makes *special* and *peculiar* to the King's particular dominions.

And here we must own the compliment is confined to the church of *England*. The *Letter-writer* only got hold of the wrong end of it. It

ends, we see, in praising the King, for having found the way to silence a number of impertinent and licentious fellows, who would needs be *prying into the secret doctrines of faith*, pretending to *understand the scriptures* as well, and to *worship God* with as much propriety, and to as good purpose, as his established Sages.

And this, I dare say, is the *sanity*, which the *Letter-writer* meant by his application of this adulatory rescript, to appropriate to the church of England: and is indeed the *sanity* which was the effect of old *Grotius's repurgation*, and shews us just this and no more, that the son was as much in love with *Sheldon's* starving Inquisition, as the father had been with *Laud's* whips and pillories.

I meddle not with the Letter-writer's translation, or comment upon these passages; I charitably hope he did not understand them: and, if I might advise him, that should be his plea for producing them. For what must even the more moderate of his own party think of his deriving glory to the church of *England*, from the wretched Divinity, and more wretched church-politics, of *James I.* and his two next lineal successors ^a?

^a *James* had the honour to burn a poor crazy Heretic, on which exploit *Casaubon* pays him the following compliment. "Arrianum in sua perfidia obstinatissimum, qui in vinculis diu detentus, revocari ad sanam mentem nulla ratione potuerat, flammis ultatricibus TUA MAJESTAS, impatiens injuriæ factæ Domino nostro Jesu Christo Deo *αυτιςφ*, jussit tradi." *Epist. Dedic. ad Exercit. in Baronium.*

I have

I have been the more particular in examining these three foreign testimonies, that I may save myself the trouble of taking the same pains with some others, which the *Letter-writer* hath brought, among other *pillage*, from the late bishop *Ellis's Tory Pamphlet* on behalf of the Test-Act^b, and which rest chiefly on the credit of Dr. *Durel*, who thought himself concerned to shew the agreement of the Reformed churches beyond the seas, with the Church of *England* as by law established, in order, I suppose, to make

^b The author of the *Preface*, &c. is reproved by the *Letter-writer*, for not taking notice of this respectable performance in his account of the controversy on the *Test*, p. 66. But what is there in it, I wonder, that either required or deserved this notice? Not one *scriptural* argument for the Test, not one answer to bishop *Hoadley's* argument, grounded upon the nature of Christ's Kingdom. Nothing, in short, but an invidious detail of abuse and misrepresentation of the Protestant Dissenters, of the *political* usefulness of certain bishops, in certain times, to certain statesmen, which nobody ever denied; and the old arguments for the *divine right* of Episcopacy, which have nothing to do with the *Test*. In this state of things, what wonder the author of the *Preface* should consider the writer of this book, as one who *followed in the Cry*, taking the scent upon trust from those who, a year or two before, had determined that *no time* would be *proper* to repeal the test; the pamphlet indeed having no name or note to distinguish it from the most obsequious of those who in those days sung to the tune of the times. Not to mention how soon after its appearance, the principles there retailed were *disoriented* by the publication of the famous book of ALLIANCE.

his frequent transitions from the one to the other the less remarkable^c;

These testimonies I shall therefore dismiss with a few general remarks.

1. It is a just observation of Bishop *Ellis*, (*Plea*, p. 11.) that “ Dissenters are not free “ from the common passions and desires of man- “ kind,” and is just as true of the members of the Reformed churches abroad, as of our Dissenters at home. Hence it is easily conceivable, that vanity and interest might get the better of principle in one or two foreign Divines, of some of the Reformed churches. Many of these were poor, and obscure, and others of them on ill terms with their brethren, when these testimonies were given. Is it impossible that an handsome gratuity, or even the honour of corresponding with an English bishop, might not prevail with some of them to stretch their complaisance (a virtue for which the *French* are universally celebrated) beyond their real sober sentiments? However, I verily believe this was the case with very few.

^c An account of this Doctor may be found in *Wood* (*Athen. Oxon.* vol. I. col. 731.) who, with all his whitewashing of *Durel*, and blackening his antagonists, has much ado to make a respectable picture of him. If any one would know the degree of deference due to the authority of Dr. *Durel*, he will meet with a satisfactory account of him in a little book intituled *Bonafus Vapulans*, written by the learned Mr. *Henry Hickman*.

2. It is not impossible to suppose, that a leading man in a presbyterian Synod or Consistory, finding his measures crossed and thwarted by his *Collaterals*, might, in a fit of *frailty*, wish that he were a bishop, and speak advantageously of an office which would effectually secure him from the like mortification. *Du Plessis Mornay*, who was often in these humiliating circumstances, might, very likely, utter the speech ascribed to him by *Dr. Ellis* (p. 84. of his *Plea*) under this kind of *sensibility*^d.

3. The English Divines often obtained these concessions (for indeed the best of them is no more), by stating the points in difference between them and the Dissenters fallaciously and unfairly; which appears to have been the case with the three Letters from Messieurs *Le Moyne*, *de L'Angle*, and *Claude*, exhibited by Bishop *Stillingfleet*, in his book of the *Unreasonableness of Separation*. This is plainly shewn by *Gilbert Rule*, with respect to the two former^e. And when Monsieur *Claude* understood what disingenuous use had been made of *his* Letter, he wrote a second, in which he qualified the former so far, as to make it of no manner of service to *Dr. Stillingfleet's* cause^f. The learned *Bochart*

^d See *Vie de Monsieur de Plessis*, passim : and *Histoire de l'Edit de Nantes*, particularly tom. ii. pp. 115. 332.

^e *Rational Defence of Nonconformity*, p. 274, 275.

^f *Calamy's Abridgment of Baxter's Life*, vol. I. p. 358.

however was not so to be imposed upon. Bishop Morley wrote a letter to him, wherein he pretended to prove that the Presbyterians held that "Kings might be resisted, if they behaved ill; and might even be deposed, or executed, if they could not be brought to reason." And this the bishop pretended to prove by the fate of *Charles I.* But *Bochart*, in answer, shewed this to be a calumny, and fully refuted it §.

4. The *English* and *Scotch* Dissenters, when these passages have been brought against them, have always objected, that these foreign divines were by no means competent judges of their case and situation. In some instances, they charged their *British* brethren with what they never held; in others, they appeared to be totally strangers to the nature of their objections against the establishment, and particularly the sort of Episcopacy to which they made exceptions, and the

§ Rational Defence, p. 276. In the same page Mr. *Rule* shews, by a remarkable instance, the industry of the Hierarchical Divines of those times to suppress such testimonies of foreign Protestants as made against them. Take it in his own words: "Mr. *l'Arroque*, the famous and great antiquary, having writ a book wherein he sheweth the conformity of the discipline of the Protestant Church of *France* (which all know to be Presbyterian) with that of the Primitive Church, and another in defence of Mr. *Daille* touching the Letters of *Ignatius* and the *Apostolical Constitutions*, against Dr. *Pearson* and *Beveridge*, and having designed a reply to their answer, that they had made to him, at the request of some that favoured episcopacy, he did not finish his answer."

powers

powers which were claimed and assumed by those who exercised that office in this country, and against which the foreign Protestants in general had often and vehemently protested ^h.

5. Some divines of the Church of *England* have had, in some instances, the art to make these foreigners say, what they neither said, nor meant to say. As this comes home to the *Letter-writer*, and his oracle Bishop *Ellis*, it is necessary to be particular. The Bishop presents us with the following testimony on the behalf of the Church of *England*, as from the learned *Frederic Spanheim*:

“The learned *Spanheim*, writing to Archbishop *Usher* from *Geneva* in 1638, says, I often call to mind *that pleasing face of things in YOUR CHURCH*, that reverence in the public worship of God, that attention and fervour of your countrymen in the service of God — the like to which you will hardly find elsewhereⁱ.”

Now who would not think from Bishop *Ellis*'s management, that *Spanheim* was fallen over head and ears in love with surplices, copes, and every rag of Archbishop *Laud*'s furniture, to be met

^h See *Rule's Rational Defence*, u. f. and *Pierce's Vindication*.

ⁱ *Plea for the Sacramental Test*, p. 22.

with

with no where in those days, but in the *face* of what was called the established church? When I first met with this passage in Dr. *Ellis's* book, I thought it a very singular compliment to the episcopal Church of *England*, from a leading pastor and professor of *Geneva*. Having, however, some suspicion that the Doctor's *predilections* in church matters might *warp* him a little in his representations, I determined to consult the original, which happened to be at hand, where I found it thus written :

“ Observatur mihi crebrò grata ista ECCLE-
 “ SIARUM VESTRARUM facies, ista in publicis pie-
 “ tatis exercitiis reverentia, ista attentio, iste
 “ VESTRATIUM in Dei cultu fervor, iste mag-
 “ natum et privatorum zelus, ista publica simul
 “ ac domestica pietas, patria genti vestræ virtus,
 “ cui geminam frustra penè alibi quæras, vix
 “ certè reperias^k.”

Let us now come to particulars. “ Writing,” says Dr. *ELLIS*, “ to Archbishop *Usher*.” True, but writing likewise in the very same epistle to *three more*, namely, *Philip* (whom, by mistake, he calls *Philibert*) *Herbert*, *Archibald Douglas* Earl of *Angus*, and *John Maitland*, the heirs respectively of the Earl of *Pembroke*, the Marquis of *Douglas*, and Lord *Lauderdale*, three young noblemen who received some part of their edu-

^k *Spanheim's* Dedication to part III. of *Dubia Evangelica-*
 cation

cation at least at *Geneva*, and most probably under the direction of *Spanheim* himself. Hath history recorded that these noblemen were members of the established Church of *England*?

Indeed, in some paragraphs of this Dedication, *Spanheim* addresses himself to each of his patrons separately, but in this where the passage in question occurs, he speaks to them *all* together (*Præsul reverendissime, Comites nobilissimi*); and therefore, by the words *ecclesiarum vestrarum*, must be understood to take into his compliment, not only the Church of *Scotland*, but *all* the Protestant Churches of *Britain* and *Ireland*, in many of which, it is well known, in those days, the forms of the Church of *England* were not observed. And yet we see the honest pleader for the Sacramental Test engrosses the whole encomium to Archbishop *Usher's* church, only ¹, as if there were neither *reverence* in the

¹ The time when *Spanheim* was in *Britain*, was several years before 1638 (*ante complures annos.*) Archbishop *Usher's* church, properly speaking, was the church of *Ireland*, concerning which we are informed, that "King *Charles I.* or "rather Archbishop *Laud*, forced the church of *Ireland* to "conform to all the *English* rites and ceremonies, in spite of "Archbishop *Usher*, who was much troubled at it." *Pierce's* Vindication, p. 287.; *Heylin's* Life of *Laud*, p. 272. e. q. f.; *Parr's* Life of *Usher*, p. 53. This happened in the year 1634. So that, supposing it possible for *Spanheim* to mean Archbishop *Usher's* church only, the church of *England* could hardly come in for any share of the elogy in this Dedication,
public

public exercises of piety, *attention* or *fervour* in the worship of God, in any of the rest, or indeed any where else, but in *England*, as Dr. *Ellis's* acceptation of the word *vestratium* plainly implies.

In truth, the forms and rites of no particular church whatever are the object of *Spanheim's* eulogy in this passage. It is the piety, devotion, and attention to religion, of the whole people of *Britain* that he commends, as the context shews, of high and low, nobles and commonalty, of whatever denomination that fell under his notice, during his residence in this kingdom.

I do not know what the reader may think of this tampering with evidence; but in certain transactions between man and man, it would certainly be called *subornation*. And yet, though the falsification is so gross, there is found in this *Letter-writer* an affidavit-man, who carries the matter farther than the Bishop himself, and tells us, p. 51. "As to THE LITURGY, *Spanheim*, Professor at *Geneva*, in a letter to the Earl of *Lauderdale*, extols and admires the public worship of God, and public piety of THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND, whereof," says he, "the like is not easily to be found elsewhere." Was

at the time referred to by the Dedicator. And, perhaps, the Church of *England*, as established by *Laud*, had the least title to *Spanheim's* compliment at the time he was in *Britain*, of any Protestant church in the whole island.

this

this an honest blunder, or an honest artifice to cover his plagiarism from *Ellis's* plea? To be sure, the Earl of *Lauderdale* could not but be highly gratified with an encomium on the *English* Liturgy.

6. There have been, and no great wonder, high-churchmen among the clergy of all sorts of religious societies. That Monsieur *Du Bosc*, with whose testimony, in favour of Episcopacy, Dr. *Ellis*, and after him our Letter-writer, have made such a figure, was of that complexion, there can be no doubt. Mr. *Le Gendre*, *Du Bosc's* biographer, has very well accounted for this flight of his Hero's prelatical spirit, by acquainting his readers in a note, with Mr. *Du Bosc's* prepossession in favour of the divine right of kings. *Bayle*^m tells us, however, that the Presbyterians

^m *Bayle's Dict.* DU BOSC (PETER) Rem. [H]. It is a little unfortunate, that most of these testimonies of foreign Protestants are contrasted with something in the history of the men from whom they are cited, which destroys the utility of them, with respect to our Letter-writer and his friends. *Bayle* gives us the following anecdote from *Du Bosc's* life by Mr. *Le Gendre*: "One day, the Bishop of *Châlons* shewed *Du Bosc* his house, which was richly furnished, and the apartments very sumptuous; and asked him, what he thought of it, and whether he looked upon that magnificence to be very apostolical? Mr. *Du Bosc*, who would neither disoblige his benefactor, nor belie his own character, answered, That he (the Bishop) had two titles in the city; that he was Count and Bishop of *Châlons*, and that his dignity of Count gave him complained

complained of *Du Bosc* for this declaration ; and with reason. It was not true, that *necessity* compelled the Reformed churches not to have Bishops. It was their *choice* and their *principle*. The plan of *Geneva* was adopted and followed by all the *French* churches ; *Charles IX.* complained, that the *French* churches were furnished with ministers from *Geneva* ; and no good reason can be

“ quite different rights and privileges from those of *Episcopacy*.
 “ That he saw nothing in his house that was above the magnificence suitable to a *Peer of France*.” Rem. [D]. But what was suitable to the simplicity of a Christian bishop, *Du Bosc* doth not say. I much question whether this concession of *Du Bosc* in favour of *Episcopacy*, separated from the dignity of *peerage*, would have been accepted by the political Bishop *Ellis*. These are *traits* in the countenances of the foreign divines, which our testimony-mongers chuse to conceal. They have dealt with us just thus, in their appeal to the *Sieur Du Plessis*, whose testimony concerning episcopacy they have retailed with great precision ; but have carefully concealed the conference the said *Du Plessis* had with certain *English* bishops in the year 1591, and particularly with *Richard* Bishop of *Bristol*, Great Almoner to the Queen, expostulating with them, with “ what conscience they could molest the Puritans, who agreed “ with them in the same faith, for simple ceremonies, whom, “ on the contrary, whether their nonconformity arose from infirmity or moroseness, they ought charitably to have borne “ with.” *La vie de M. DU PLESSIS*, p. 168. What sort of Episcopalian are these, who would strip the prelacy, on the one hand of its *magnificence*, and on the other its *ceremonies* ?

ⁿ *Spon's Hist. of Geneva*, p. 121. *sub anno* 1561. And what reason he had for that complaint, appears from the following passage : *Cardinalis* [Lotharingæ] *quidem dissipavit*
 given

given why *Calvin* might not have settled the episcopal form of church government at *Geneva*, if he had so thought fit. But so far was he from this, that having described the office of bishops in the ancient churches before the Papacy was erected into a tyranny, (where, by the way, he shews the bishop was only *primus inter pares*) he says, “even such a bishop was, by the confession of ancient writers, introduced by human agreement, and through the necessity of the times °.” Whether *Calvin* was in the right,

Parisiensem Ecclesiam, sed ab eo tempore, in aliis loci regni Gallici plures quam sexaginta institutæ sunt ; nec possunt GENEVENSES tot ministros suppeditare, quot ab ipsis petuntur. Langueti, Epist. xi. lib. ii. dat ult. Januarii, 1560. It is true, some of the *Lutheran* churches were a little better disposed towards Episcopacy in process of time. But at the beginning they were equally untractable on that head as *Calvin* was afterwards. *Satis certus sum, says Melancthon, quod non liceat episcopis onerare ecclesiam, et ita scripsi in confessione, neque id muto. Epist. x. lib. i. ad Lutherum.* From this point *Melancthon* was obliged to recede at the *Augsburg* Conference, anno 1530. Concerning which he writes thus to *Luther*, September 1, 1530. *Valde reprehendimur a nostris, quod jurisdictionem Episcopis reddimus. Nam vulgus assuefactum libertati, et semel excusso jugo Episcoporum, ægrè patitur sibi rursus imponi illa vetera onera, et maxime oderunt istam dominationem civitates imperii. Epist. xvii. lib. i.* Accordingly afterwards the *Lutheran* churches were generally settled in the consistorial way. Vid. *Seckendorf*, lib. ii. p. 174.

° *Id muneris suslinebat Episcopus, in Presbyterorum cætu. Atque id ipsum PRO TEMPORUM NECESSITATE fuisse humano con-*

is another question. My business is only to shew, that these testimonies are nothing to the *Letter-writer's* purpose ^p.

What would the *Letter-writer* say, if one should bring a testimony from a moderate *Roman* Catholic writer, expressing his fears for *England*, on account of the great power of the bishops, lest it should fall under the ancient tyranny of a prelatical hierarchy? Yet such a testimony is extant, as may be seen in the margin ^q.

sensu inductum, fatentur ipsi veteres. Institut. lib. iv. cap. iv. sect. 2.

^p Bishop *Ellis*, and after him the *Letter-writer*, had the discretion not to mention Mr. *Claude's* evidence produced by Bishop *Stillingfleet*, as they were conscious how impertinent *Claude's* explanation of himself, mentioned above, had made it to the point in hand. But, in truth, what that gentleman there says on his own account is equally applicable to most of the authorities brought from others of the same persuasion.

^q *Anglis ego timeo. Episcoporum magna illa potestas, licet sub rege, prorsus mihi suspecta est; ubi vel regem facilem nacti fuerint, vel magni spiritus archiepiscopum habuerint, regia auctoritas pessundabitur, et episcopi ad absolutam dominationem aspirabunt. Ego equum ephippiatum in ANGLIA videre videor et ascensurum propediem equitem antiquum di-vino. Verum omnia divinæ providentiæ subsunt.* Preface to *Brown's* translation of Father *Paul's* Letters, p. li. Mr. *Brown*, knowing how distasteful this language would be to his brethren, makes a variety of apologies for his author for—speaking the truth. Among other things, he sets forth the tyranny of *Bancroft* in strong terms. And so far the *Prefacer* must think himself
Of

Of the very same stamp are the authorities he cites from the Dissenters at home, and from those he calls their friends; among which, *Walsingham's* Letter in Bishop *Burnet's* History, is produced, first by Bishop *Ellis*, and from him by our Letter-writer, p. 29.

In the first place, I object to this Letter, for want of authenticity. It is without date of time or place. No one knows who *Monf. Critoy* was, nor what could occasion him to make such an inquiry into *Q. Elizabeth's* dealings with the Puritans, as required an answer from a Secretary of State; and the Historian gives it only as a translation, *said* to be taken from the original.

But admit the Letter to be genuine, why should we give Sir *Francis Walsingham* more credit than the *Letter-writer* himself does? *Walsingham*, in 1583, wished "King *James* not to impute to the Queen those things which had lately fallen out in *Scotland*." But the Letter-writer is positive, p. 25, "that this same Queen supported the *Scotch* Presbyterians,"

obliged to him; as that detail of *Bancroft's* exploits is a full answer to every thing the *Letter-writer* hath brought on his behalf, and might save the trouble of giving any other. Be it observed, by the way, that the doctrines advanced in Bishop *Gibson's* Codex were, about the year 1736, shewn to have a direct tendency to verify Father *Paul's* prophecy, by one of the greatest and most upright lawyers of his time.

* Biog. Brit. WALSINGHAM, Rem. [K.]

by whose opposition those very things had fallen out; for which fact, there is indeed much better authority than his own^s.

The Gentleman, I doubt not, will have so much wit in his anger as to say, that Sir *Francis* was here playing the politician; and that, whatever the truth was, it was not his business to shew his mistress in an unfavourable light to the King of *Scotland*. But neither was it his business to give the *Frenchman* an unfavourable idea of the Queen's treatment of the Puritans. And yet as surely as *Elizabeth* supported the Presbyterians in *Scotland*, so surely did she not pay sufficient regard to conscience, when she chose to enforce conformity.

Nothing, for instance, could be farther from the truth, than that "when the Puritans refused the use of some ceremonies and rites as "superstitious, they were tolerated with much "connivency and gentleness." Nobody knew better than *Walsingham* himself that this was absolutely false. In 1583, Sir *Francis* wrote a letter to Archbishop *Whitgift*, in favour of one Mr. *Levermore*, "a man of good report, and "whom he had found conformable, and willing to observe such orders as are appointed "to be used by the church." That is to say, sufficiently conformable according to law. But

^s See Bishop *Burnet's* Hist. Reform. vol. iii. p. 329, 330.

not the least indulgence was to be had for him; from the sturdy prelate ; nothing less than subscription to his own articles, for which he pleads the Queen's *wish* and *desire*, and is not content that *Levermore* should subscribe, as far as *the law requireth at his hand*, a point which he would not leave to the determination of lawyers, but took it upon himself; and that he might rack the man's conscience to the utmost, he fixes meanings of his own to *Levermore's* general expressions, strives to ensnare him with interrogatories; and when *Levermore* and such as he stood upon their privileges as Christians and *Englishmen*, it availed them not. They were arbitrarily rejected in consequence of his Grace's pious declaration, that he would, as far as *he could*, *promise that none should thereafter come into the church to breed new troubles*. In which he was surely in the right, if he was not wrong in calling these poor men's scruples by the name of *Atheism* ^t.

Again. *Walsingham* is represented in this letter, as charging the Puritans, "with making "many subjects in doubt to take oaths, which "is one of the fundamental parts of justice in "this land." (A passage, by the way, which the Letter-writer, modestly enough, drops in *his* citation, though Dr. *Ellis* was not so scrupulous.) As if the Queen's subjects were by the Puritans

^t *Faller*, Ch. Hist. B. ix. p. 162.

brought in doubt, about oaths of *all sorts*; or as if the oath *ex officio*, to answer interrogatories put to them for the purpose of accusing themselves, was a part of the fundamental justice of the nation. Could *Walsingham* be either so ignorant, or so disingenuous?

I have passed by the citations he brings from some of the old Puritans to shew that they condemned the separation of some men, or rather the reasons for their separation which some men gave, who, the *Letter-writer* would have it understood, were of the main disciplinarian body—I have passed by these, I say, as of no sort of consequence, unless the *Letter-writer* will allow the objections of *Cartwright* and the rest, against the government and discipline of the Church of *England*, to be of equal weight. The truth is, these separatists were *Brownists*, “whose rigidity,” Mr. *Pierce* informs us, “the Puritans always disliked, and were the chief writers against them; for which,” says he, “the bishops, according to the usual gratitude of that time, rewarded them with silencing, suspension, and imprisonment.” It may, however, be worth remarking, that, according to Bishop *Stillingfleet*, three of the four reasons given by *Barrow* and *Greenwood* for their separation, were taken from *Cartwright’s* Admonition to the

* Vindication, p. 144.

Parliament^x. Whence I think it may be concluded, that *Cartwright's* intention in writing against the *Brownists*, was not so much to justify the Church of *England*, as the *Letter-writer* would have it, as to correct the too violent operation of his own physic.

CARTWRIGHT was a formidable adversary, and, out of all question, one of the most learned divines of his time. All concessions from such a man must have been very valuable to the opposing party, when they could be had. When they could not, he was then, *a dealer in words, but barren in matter, a man perfectly childish, holding with Papists, &c.*^y

However, it seems, he went out of the world, if not *in the odour of sanctity*, with a very good grace, “seriously lamenting the troubles he had occasioned in the church by the schism he had been a great fomentor of, and wished he was to begin his life again, that he might testify to the world the dislike he had of his former ways; and in this opinion he died^z.”

This, however, is the man who is cited by the *Letter-writer*, as writing *against* the schism. But that is nothing; this last testimony is *instar omnium*, and it is worth our while to inquire how the *Letter-writer* came by it.

^x Unreasonableness of Separation, p. 28.

^y First Letter, p. 70.

^z Ibid. p. 68.

CARTWRIGHT died in the year 1601. Bishop Morton in 1659. In the year 1662, or thereabouts, Sir Henry Yelverton published a little posthumous piece written by Bishop Morton, with a Preface of his own, in which he gives the reader this recantation, as a cordial draught, I suppose, for the *Barthelemites*. Well, but how came Sir Henry Yelverton by this anecdote? Why, “a sober person had it from Cartwright himself on his death-bed, that sober person told it to *one* in Warwick, and that *one* in Warwick told it to Sir Henry Yelverton;” and so out it comes for the first time, with these respectable attestations, sixty years after Cartwright’s death.

Which puts me in mind of a story I have heard of the origin of the tale of Oliver Cromwell’s meeting the Devil in a wood. “Dost thou not know,” says Dr. Bentley to a reader of History, “where Echard got that curious tale? Why then I’ll tell thee. He had it from C—lb—tch, who had it from an old woman in Suffolk^a.”

And yet our Letter-writer glibly swallows this *bon morceau*, and much good may it do him. But let him not attempt to cram it down people’s throats who have not so large a swallow. Nothing, indeed, can possibly be too tough for the

^a *Bentleiana*, MS.

digestion of a man, who can retail for authentic the exploded forgeries of *Heath* and *Commyn*.

In what light the Dissenters of the present day may look upon these *testimonies* and *concessions* of their predecessors, I have no opportunity to know. The *Letter-writer* insinuates, p. 63, that they are a different sort of people from what they were then, "and have fixed their separation upon so very different a footing, that they would slight the alterations proposed in 1689 as trifles, and make demands of quite another nature." To this I can say no more, than that I suppose they are kept out of the church for want of *some* concessions; but with the nature and extent of their present demands, I am utterly unacquainted. All I know is, that these *foreign testimonies*, and *domestic concessions*, were utterly futile and impertinent, in the light of objections, to the demands of their venerable ancestors; whilst they could appeal to the testimonies of *Usher*, *Williams*, *Prideaux*, *Brownrigg*, *Ward*, *Featly*, *Hacket*, five of them bishops of the established church, that the Liturgy ought to have been amended in above thirty of those places to which they made objections, not to mention Archbishop *Usher's* plan for the reduction of Episcopacy ^b.

^b See The Conformist's Plea for Non-conformists, p. 23
—30.

What authenticity the author of the *Preface* might allow to Bishop *Barlow's* account of the *Hampton-Court* conference, I pretend not to say. The *Letter-writer*, it seems, was mistaken a little in that matter, for which, having made the *amende honorable*, he may be now excused. But, to speak my mind freely, I look upon *Barlow's* account as a real farce, a kind of a tragi-comedy of three acts, full of fictitious circumstances, contrived to set the bishops in the *best*, and the ministers in the *worst* light possible^c.

The consequences, indeed, were totally tragical, as the author of the *Preface* hath observed; and this the *Letter-writer* would excuse, by alledging, that the ministers, upon the event of the conference, promised to be *quiet* and *obe-*

^c See *Calderwood's* Hist. of the church of Scotland, p. 474.; *Pierce's* Vindication, p. 155.; *Hickman's* Review of *Heylin's* Certamen Epistolare, p. 28.; *Fuller's* Ch. Hist. B. x. p. 21.; and the Letters at the end of *Barlow's* Account, *Phoenix*, vol. I. Of the *tragical* part of this farce no instances are wanted. All the world knows it. In the *comical* part the *Letter-writer* is a little interested. He had, p. 67. very seriously quoted the Royal Moderator, at this conference, for an *eloquent* saying, *viz.* that "such strict reformers as rejected "every thing the Papists used must go barefoot, for the Papists wore shoes and stockings." *Barlow* observes, that the King said this to Dr. *Reynolds*, *merrily*; and indeed a *merry* argument it is. But extremely well calculated for the *seriousness* of our *Letter-writer*, and his friend Bishop *Ellis*, who deal much in this kind of conclusions.

dient. But he well knows, that these ministers had no commission to answer for the whole body of the Puritans. Conscious of this, after jumbling together the different sentiments of particular men at very distant times, he comes to this frigid conclusion, "The truth is," says he, "the duty of toleration was scarce seen by any on either side."

No! what became of *Q. Elizabeth's* principle, mentioned in *Walsingham's* letter, that *Consciences are not to be forced*? What was become of all those excellent pleas for toleration urged by our first Reformers to the persecuting Papists? And what will become of all those apologies our *Letter-writer* hath made for *Parker* and *Whitgift*, who asserted the necessity of obedience to the establishment, and to the *Queen's Laws*, as they called them? *Bancroft* and *Laud* preached the same doctrine, and the *Letter-writer* accepts it for orthodox; and indeed his oracle Bishop *Ellis* could not have budged one foot in justification of the Sacramental Test, without accepting it too. All which presupposes, that the parties concerned were very well acquainted with the just limits of the duty of toleration.

"And therefore," says the *Letter-writer*, "our censures of both should be tempered with great compassion." Why then let our compassion

passion be extended to *Pole*, *Gardiner*, and *Bonner*, for they had the same things to say for themselves, and even to those Puritans, whom, though without power, our *Letter-writer* determines to have been persecutors in their hearts, for as sure as ever they should come into power, they would justify their intolerance by the very same sort of pleas^d.

The small mistake in the citation of *Pierce's Vindication*, *Pref.* p. xxiv. will be easily rectified, by removing it to the end of the foregoing paragraph, and placing the note of reference before the other three authorities. It would not indeed have been worth notice, if the *Letter-*

^d It is a mere idle fancy to suppose that any party whatsoever, since the strong fortress of Popery was broke into, should have been ignorant of what is due to the rights of conscience in matters of religion. Their own sensibilities in a state of suffering prove, in a thousand instances, that they were not ignorant of it. Even Bishop *Poynet* in the days of *Q. Mary* could say, "Civil power is a power and ordinance of God, appointed to certain things, but no general minister over all things. God hath not given it power over the one, and the best part of man, that is, the soul and conscience of man; but only over the other, and the worst part of man, that is, the body, and those things that belong unto this temporal life of man." *Treatise of Politique Power*, 4to, edit. 1642, p. 23. One might trace the knowledge of this principle through many books published in almost every year, down from Bishop *Poynet* to Bishop *Taylor's* *Liberty of Prophesying*: which leaves our *Letter-writer's* Heroes, and even Bishop *Ellis* himself, without excuse.

writer

writer had not called for a proof that *Bancroft* was the prototype of *Laud's* and *Sheldon's* politics: for in the page of the *Vindication* where he could not find any thing relating to the stopping of the embarkation, he might have found ample proof of *Bancroft's* "ensnaring men into subscription, of his cunning in secreting the number of Nonconformists from the King and the Lords, with a menace to those whose subscription was respited *for some short time*, either to conform at the end of it, or to *dispose of themselves and their families some other way*, as being men unfit, for their obstinacy and contempt, to occupy such places." The very plan pursued by *Sheldon* afterwards.

The *Letter-writer* cavils at a passage in the Preface, where it is said, that "*Bancroft* forgot to tell *Spotfwood* how many ship-loads he had terrified into the plantations;" and says, "the first ship-load of Puritans that we know of, about 120 persons, did not go to *America* till ten years after *Bancroft's* death," p. 41.

It is true, *Smith* and *Robinson*, with their several congregations, were terrified first into *Holland*, whence the latter, after some years stay, went with the remains of his flock into *America*. *Robinson* went to *Amsterdam* in 1608. *Smith* some time before, but both of them, "by rea-

* *Pierce's Vindication*, p. 169, 170.

“son of the persecutions under Archbishop
 “*Bancroft* growing hotter.” Here then are
two ship-loads terrified *out of the land*, at least,
 by *Bancroft*. My author, whom I cite in the
 margin^f, gives an account of two more ship-
 loads, who went from *Hull* about 1607, and
 probably joined themselves to *Smith’s* congre-
 gation.

But were none terrified into the *Plantations*
 during *Bancroft’s* reign? The *Letter-writer* says,
 “none that he knows of.” Nevertheless, we
 have the following account in *Wilson*. “The
 “first who sent a colony into this country [*New*
 “*England*] was the Lord Chief Justice *Popham*,
 “in the year 1606.—The first Planters in *New*
 “*England*, having seated themselves low, few
 “of them were left” [some, however] “to di-
 “rect those that succeeded in a better way.
 “Yet people, by dear experience, overcame it
 “by degrees, being YEARLY supplied by men
 “whose industry and affections taught them there
 “was more hope to find SAFETY in *New Eng-*
 “*land*, than in the *Old* s.” In 1614, one or
 more ship-loads embarked for *New-England*,
 were stopped, but afterwards suffered to go^h.

Sir *Richard Baker* is very circumstantial in his
 account of the settlements in *Virginia*, and of the

^f *Neale’s Hist. of New England*, vol. i. p. 73—78.

^g *Wilson’s Life of James I.* p. 75, 76.

^h *Ibid.* p. 74.

numbers that were sent there in 1607, 1608, and 1609, to the amount of 290 persons. He agrees with *Wilson*, that the first attempt to settle *New England* was made in 1606; after which, he speaks of “many attempts to settle a Plantation there, “of many miscarriages and disasters in making the “attempts, till, in 1624, there was a plantation “settled, though but a small one ⁱ.”

With respect to those who went to *Virginia*, *Rapin Thoyras* says expressly, that, “on account “of *Bancroft’s* never ceasing to plague the Puritans, great numbers of them resolved to go “and settle in *Virginia*, which was discovered in “the late Reign by Sir *Walter Raleigh* ^k.”

Now how will the *Letter-writer* come off? Did he, or did he not know of these ship-loads? If he did not know of them, he is a little too positive in his contradiction. But I am rather inclined to think he knew of these migrations very well, and that he is prepared to inform us, that the people who composed them did not go by *Ship-loads*, but by the means of *Wings* and *Cork-jackets*.

The *Letter-writer*, after representing the author of the *Preface* as a *disturber*, and as an exception to his own general rule, *that* (contrary

ⁱ Chronicle, p. 447, 448.

^k Vol. IX. octavo, 173. p. 312.

to *Spotwood's* complaint) *the more such disturbers are tolerated, the less noise they make*, goes on thus :

“ And unless such noise be more hard to cure
 “ than their halting, you gave us a contrary
 “ instance from *Fuller*, who informs us that *many*
 “ *cripples in conformity*, at that time, *were cured*
 “ *of their halting therein*, by not being tolerat-
 “ ed.” p. 42.

By not being tolerated! Alas! poor souls, they never intended to try, whether they should be tolerated or no. The King's religion was to be *their* religion, at all events: and they would have made just as good Papists, or Mahometans, as Church-of-England men, had the King thought fit to take his rule of Faith from the Decrees of *Trent*, or the *Koran*.

If *Fuller* had represented this case in ambiguous terms, it had been no wonder that our *Letter-writer* should, in the simplicity of his apprehension, have taken the wrong side of it: but he had cunning enough to perceive, that to take it in *Fuller's* plain meaning, might have suggested an unlucky comparison of the conduct of these men with that of some of his conforming Friends. He chose therefore rather to mold it after his own idea, which appears too evidently to be, that a little of the old Monarch's *harrying* would be

no improper remedy either for the *noise* or the *balting* of the present times.

With respect to the matter of fact, to shew how dextrously the WEES of the *Groupe* (who, in Archbishop Tillotson's phrase, WILL be the *Church of England* ¹) can turn the same incident to different purposes, as different occasions demand, take the following account of it from one of the *religious* Convocation-men of 1689 :

" In the beginning of King *James* the first's
 " reign, the Presbyterians of this Kingdom en-
 " tertained violent hopes of an ecclesiastical re-
 " volution ; and gave out every where, that the
 " King, having been bred in *Scotland* in the Pres-
 " byterian way, was desirous of a change in fa-
 " vour of it. *A great number of Conformists*, and
 " a much greater number than have yet appear-
 " ed for this new project" [the intended *Compre-
 hension* of 1689], " joined with the Nonconfor-
 " mists, defamed the Common Prayer without
 " measure, declared they could never subscribe
 " again, though they had done it several times
 " before. You know the issue ; they found them-
 " selves mistaken in the King's intentions ; the
 " *moderate* men were glad to be reconciled, and
 " the church outlived the hasty triumphs of her
 " enemies, and the *treachery* of her pretended
 " friends ^m."

¹ *Birch's Life of Tillotson*, octavo, p. 243.

^m *Remarks from the country upon the two Letters relating to the Convocation and the Liturgy*, London, 1689-90, at the end.

" In

“ In the place which you quote from *Rushworth*,” says the *Letter-writer*, “ to prove that
 “ the malicious *Laud*, that they might reap no
 “ advantage from their industry, &c. contrived
 “ to cramp their trade by foolish Proclamations,
 “ there is *absolutely nothing more* than an order
 “ of Council, April 6, 1638, at which three
 “ privy councilors” [There were *thirteen*] “ be-
 “ sides *Laud* were present to talk of a late re-
 “ straint, which, &c.” p. 38.

Judge, reader. At the end of this order of Council are these very words: “ And
 “ that Mr. Attorney General shall forthwith
 “ draw up A PROCLAMATION, expressing his
 “ Majesty’s Royal pleasure to prohibit all mer-
 “ chants, masters, and owners of ships, from
 “ henceforth, to set forth any ship or ships with
 “ passengers for *New England*, till they have first
 “ obtained special licence on that behalf from
 “ such of the Lords of his Majesty’s most honour-
 “ able Privy-council as are appointed for the bu-
 “ siness of foreign Plantations.” Of whom, *Laud*
 was the leader and principal. And that there
 were more orders of Council to the like effect,
 the *Letter-writer* himself acknowledges.

I am unwilling to put him to more shame up-
 on this subject; but his next fraud is so palpable,
 that there is no excusing it. He tells us, that,
 in the order of Council, “ a reason is given of
 “ this

“ this direction, the disorders and want of Government in that colony, through which well-affected persons had suffered much loss in their estates by the unruly faction, whereof sundry and great complaints had been made, and proved to be true.”

Would not any man now conceive that this *unruly faction* was made up of traitors and rebels to the King and the State? who then were the complainers? Oh, that should have come in at the gap, which is filled up in the order by *those who are well affected to religion, as well as government*. That is to say, by the creatures of *Laud*, against the Nonconformists of *New England*, whom the pious Archbishop, like his worthy descendants of the Convocation 1689, would not allow to have *any religion*. And is not this *absolutely* clever, to keep a profound silence both with respect to *religion* and the *proclamation* mentioned in this order of Council, for the laudable purpose of giving the lye to a troublesome antagonist?

The *Letter-writer* may do as he pleases for me, whether he will believe Dr. *Heylin* or not, that there was a project to send a Bishop to *America* with an army to support his authority, at the time referred to in the *Preface*. But the fact being admitted (and why it should not no good reason can be given), he will make himself perfectly

fectly ridiculous, to form so much as a doubt that *Laud* was the *President* of that College of *chief Physicians* who were to take especial care of the church's health. Let me intreat the reader to peruse the whole passage in *Heylin*; and then declare upon his honest word, whether *Heylin* could have learned to descant so scientifically on the distemper of *New England*, or what was the proper method of cure, any where but in the school of his master *Laud*.

As I profess to be entirely upon the *defensive*, I have but little to do with the *Letter-writer's* speculations, which do not immediately affect the *Prefacer* upon whom he remarks. But as he, on the present occasion, chooses to indulge his genius in a meditation upon the more modern project of Episcopizing our American colonies, I hope he will give me leave to recreate myself and my readers with a short observation upon it.

Having allowed that the design of sending a Bishop to *New England*, with an army to back him, was a wicked one, he thus proceeds: " And
 " it would be a wickedness of the same, I mean
 " of the persecuting kind, to restrain those whose
 " *consciences chuse* episcopal government from hav-
 " ing bishops in such manner settled among them,
 " as to have no concern with persons of different
 " sentiments, nor encroach on any man's civil or
 " religious rights, nor make any change in the
 " constitution

" constitution of the government, or the powers
 " of the magistrate administering it." p. 39.

This is all very fair and moderate; nor can I see any more harm in it, than there would be in not restraining those whose *consciences* do not *chuse* to wear their own hair, from having a periwig-maker settled among them. But the misfortune is, that these Gentlemen of the *groupe*, let them wear what periwig they will, cannot upon *all* occasions disguise their genuine complexion.

It was but at p. 36, that our *Letter-writer* dropped a pious intercessory ejaculation, that " the *sect* of Antiepiscolians might not be " come too powerful in *America*." Now nothing in the world so promising to obviate this impending evil, as settling episcopal government among them; but to what purpose, if episcopal government is to have no concern with persons of different sentiments, to encroach upon no man's religious rights, nor make any change in the constitution of their ecclesiastical government? It is a clear case, that the Americans, in our author's account, can only be too powerful as a *sect*, and *quatenus* antiepiscolians. Convert them, and the danger is over. Episcopals cannot be too powerful. But this can never be done with the scanty faculties al-

lotted by our Letter-writer to American bishops. However, as I have no doubt, but the checking these too powerful sectaries is one inducement to our *Letter-writer's* conscience to *chuse* episcopal government for America; I think him much in the right to get his bishops thither at any rate, and to trust for the rest to the chapter of accidents.

It is a very soft character our *Letter-writer* gives of Archbishop *Laud*, that he was "too vehement in his natural temper, and too fond of externals in religion." It is too well known into what outrageous acts of violence and cruelty the former broke out in the exercise of his public office; and into what abject and ridiculous acts of gross superstition he was transported by the latter. It is impossible to impose upon the world, by pretending to balance these with some good qualities in his private character. What is his generosity and munificence to a few individuals, or even to some public societies; to his oppression of multitudes who had the *first* claim upon his benevolence, and whom, instead of encouraging and protecting in the enjoyment of their civil and religious rights, he endeavoured to deprive of every human comfort, merely for asserting themⁿ?

ⁿ A pamphlet just published, and now before me, the author of which seems to me not to be ever well disposed towards

He had learning, it is true ; and he wrote a good book against Popery : but what merit could he claim for this, while he was all his life-time acting for it ° ? How many thousands would be

the Colonies, hath the following passage : “ The severity of “ the *Laudæan* persecution increasing, a number of Gentlemen “ of *figure and estate* made a proposal to the company for settling *Massachusetts Bay*, to go themselves over, and settle in “ the country.” *A short view of the History of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay, London, 1769, p. 27, 28.* Posterity, we see will call the actions of their predecessors by the right names, in spite of all prejudices and glosses of particular persons. Is the driving whole families of *figure and estate* out of the kingdom to be palliated, by calling it *the effect* of a vehemence of natural temper ?

° To give all the proofs of this that are extant, would be to transcribe Dr. *Laud's* whole History from the first notice the world took of him. Suffice it to refer the reader to the last chapter of *Gage's* Survey of the *West Indies*, in the folio edition, for the *Expurgators* after the Restoration took effectual care to have it castrated from the subsequent editions in octavo, as injurious to their saint and martyr. However, in 1712, when *Laud's* high-church Posterity were furiously pursuing his plan, an honest man ventured to publish this obnoxious chapter in a small octavo pamphlet printed for *Popping* in *Pater-noster Row*, with a smart Preface, censuring the roguery of the *Expurgators*, and establishing *Gage's* veracity, which indeed is now put out of all dispute, by the publication of the *Clarendon* papers. I cannot resist the temptation of presenting the reader with a sensible reflection of the editor, respecting Mr. *Wharton's* testimonies in favour of this Archbishop, contrasted with *Gage's* account of him : “ It is not pretended, says he, that *Laud* “ proved the *doctrinal* articles of that Church ; but 'tis possible, that one who dislikes many points of the *Romish* faith,

well acquainted with his ecclesiastical edicts, and eye-witnesses of his whole pontifical apparatus, who would never read a line in his book, perhaps never hear of it? What the *Letter-writer* says of his converting *Chillingworth*, wants proof P ;

“ may yet be very fond of introducing her tyrannical Govern-
 “ ment, and, in order to it, of amusing the poor laity with the long
 “ train of her gaudy and mysterious ceremonies, that, while they
 “ stand fondly gazing at this lure, and are busied about imper-
 “ tinences, they may the more easily be circumvented into irre-
 “ coverable bondage, by men of deeper but more mischievous
 “ designs.” I would humbly recommend this passage to the
 serious contemplation of the *Letter-writer*. I can assure him, it
 is understood to fit others of more recent memory than Arch-
 bishop *Laud* ; some of those in particular, whose defence he hath
 undertaken in this Letter.

P Archbishop *Laud*, in his speech before the Lords, quoted
 by *Des Maiseaux* (*Life of Chillingworth*, p. 11, 12.) pretends
 to no more than bringing *Chillingworth* back from *Douay*.
 But *Anthony Wood*, an evidence in this case, *omni exceptione ma-
 jor*, ascribes his leaving *Douay* to other causes, without menti-
 oning the Archbishop, till he speaks of *Chillingworth's* arrival
 in *England*. *Ath. Ox.* vol. ii. col. 42. *Chillingworth* him-
 self, in the Dedication of his immortal work to King *Charles I.*
 puts his conversion upon his “ having, with the greatest equa-
 “ lity and indifferency, made enquiry and search into the grounds
 “ on both sides ;” and if we may admit of any bias given him
 in this search, it must be imputed to *Dr. Potter's Answer to Charity
 Mistaken*, which, as *Chillingworth* says in the same Dedication,
 “ was written by special order from his Majesty,—peradventure
 “ not without some aim at the recovery of one of his subjects,
 [*Chillingworth* himself] from a dangerous deviation.” How
 shall we account for his omitting all mention of *Laud* on this
 occasion, and at this period of time [1637], if *Laud* had been
 a material instrument in his conversion ?

and

and what he adds of *Hales's* wishing he had died in his stead, may be ranked among the tales of *Laud's* converting *Hales* from *Socinianism*, of *Hales's* recanting the heresies contained in his tract of *Schism*, propagated by *Heylin*, *Long*, *Echard*, and others of that cast ^a.

The Savoy-conference is the next particular worth notice; concerning which, the difference between the *Letter-writer* and the author of the *Preface* is, on which side lay the hypocrisy, sophistry, &c. of that memorable assembly? which may easily be decided by the following authorities, without descending to particulars:

“ The party in the house of Commons, says
 “ Lord *Clarendon*, that was devoted to the King,
 “ and to the old principles of church and state,—
 “ thought not fit *so to cross* the Presbyterians, *as*
 “ *to make them desperate* in their hopes of satis-
 “ faction; but, with the concurrence of those
 “ who were of contrary factions, *diverted the*
 “ *argument*, by proposing other subjects of more
 “ immediate relation to the public peace, to be
 “ first considered and dispatched; and the *model*
 “ for religion to be debated and prepared by
 “ that committee which had been nominated be-
 “ fore his Majesty's return to that purpose:
 “ *They* not doubting to CROSS and PUZZLE any

^a See *Des Maizeaux's* Life of *Hales*, Rem [G & H] and Rem. [9] p. 87.

“ pernicious resolutions *there*, till time and their
 “ own extravagant follies had put some end to
 “ their destructive designs ^r.” Which *pernicious*
resolutions, and *destructive designs*, were aimed
 at—a *reformation* in the Church.

Here we have a fair confession to what all
Charles the Second’s declarations, conferences,
 and commissions tended; namely, to *divert*, *cross*,
 and *puzzle* the Nonconformists, till, by the strength
 of Party, means might be found, and pretences
 taken, to narrow the terms of conformity, and to
 plague them to the purpose, which was happily
 accomplished by the *Savoy* conference.

So however it happened, that many of the
 Nonconformists, being men of sense and pene-
 tration, and having detected the cunning of the
 artificers, contrived to *counter-cross* and *counter-*
puzzle them, which Lord *Clarendon*, and after
 him our *Letter-writer*, charges upon their disin-
 genuity and want of integrity, without the least
 intimation of the pernicious policy of the Chan-
 cellor and the bishops, which made the Noncon-
 formists so jealous and circumspect. “ The def-
 “ pised Presbyterians, says Mr. *Pierce*, were not
 “ so stupid, as not plainly to perceive at what
 “ King *Charles* was driving ^s.”

^r *Clarendon’s* Contin. and Life, vol. ii. p. 17.

^s *Vindication*, p. 228. Dr. *Nichols* was obliged to confess
 that the Bishops knew it at last, but still went on, and
 For

For my own part, I think Bishop *Burnet's* account sufficient to justify whatever the author of the *Preface* hath said upon the subject; but to put the matter out of all doubt, the following character of the commissioners on each side, by a candid and ingenuous *Conformist*, who lived in those times, will give full satisfaction to the cavils of the *Letter-writer*:

“ The Commissioners who pleaded for a Union
 “ without a Reformation, were the *strongest* and
 “ *stiffest* of any in the Church of *England*. Men
 “ of great learning, long experience in the Eccle-
 “ siastical Government, and that had suffered much,
 “ and were much *exasperated*, as being (several
 “ of them, next the Bishops) most obnoxious to
 “ the Parliament, as most *guilty of innovations*
 “ *in doctrine and discipline*, by the informations
 “ and complaint of as learned and as great men as
 “ any of them in the church of England, as may
 “ be easily produced out of the best accounts
 “ of those times; all, except Dr. *Morley*, Dr.
 “ *Earle*, Dr. *Sanderfon* (against whom I remem-
 “ ber no complaints), and a few beside. Their
 “ constancy and sufferings did recommend them
 “ to the King's favour, and the great agreement
 “ in their general design held them to one ano-
 “ ther; and having the disposal of preferments
 “ complied with the Court, for fear of being accounted FANATI-
 “ CAL,” which was ten times worse than being accounted PO-
 PISH. Def.nce, p. 37.

“ as

“ as they pleased, or at least the recommenda-
 “ tion of candidates, expectants complied with
 “ them, and were forward to walk according
 “ to their measures. The moderating bishops,
 “ *Hall, Prideaux, Brownrigge*, were gone to hea-
 “ ven, and others of another stamp [succeeded];
 “ and so it was easier for them to carry all their
 “ own way ^t.”

And then having remarked their ungodly pains
 and assiduity, in procuring a convocation and par-
 liament to their minds, he goes on thus :

“ The Commissioners on the other side must
 “ be acknowledged men of great and sound
 “ learning, and of more experience in the pas-
 “ toral office, and had conversed more with great
 “ congregations than the others had ; and so were
 “ more fit to advise, as learned practitioners in
 “ physick are fitter to advise, and more likely to
 “ hit the temper of the patient, than a Profes-
 “ sor in the Theory. And the account of their
 “ proceedings will, to posterity, shew to the
 “ impartial and inquisitive, both their parts and
 “ their temper. When I read them, I do the
 “ less wonder at what I heard, that a great
 “ bishop ^u, in his prime visitation, soon after did
 “ warn his clergy against reading that book ^w.”

^t Conformists First plea for Nonconformists, p. 37.

^u Bishop *Sanderfon*.

^w Conformists First plea for Nonconformists, p. 38.

This is a plain tale, in homely dress indeed, but sensible and just, and leads to a very clear determination of the question at issue.

It is hardly worth any man's while to refute the string of idle cavils that come next, the mere offspring of distress and perplexity.

For example. King *Charles II.* positively affirmed in his Declaration, that "the Presbyterian Ministers who attended him in *Holland* "were no enemies to episcopacy." But the Letter-writer tells us, "these very men had "swore in their solemn league and covenant to "extirpate episcopacy." p. 47. A very unfortunate remark; if they swore to extirpate episcopacy, by taking the covenant, so did King *Charles*; for he took the covenant as well as they; and what is more, he took it in *Scotland*, and without that qualification, with respect to Episcopacy, which the English ministers insisted upon before they would take it, namely, a clause describing *the sort of Prelacy* they meant to *oppose*, as different from the *ancient episcopacy*, which they *allowed**. But such are the effects of the rage of *answering every thing*.

Again. Bishop *Burnet* neither says nor hints, "that the bishops desired Lord *Clarendon* to be "so obstinate towards the Presbyterians, in re-

* *Baxter's Life*, p. 48.

"quital

“quital for the services they did him, in the affair of his daughter’s marriage with the Duke of York.” p. 53.—His Lordship’s gratitude was then the more generous, in doing it without being asked. For I suppose few people now a-days will believe that *Clarendon* did not know *what* the bishops desired.

The *Letter-writer* says, “the whole of what his Lordship hath written, concerning this transaction with the Nonconformists, evidently proves that he acted from his judgement in it.” And, no doubt, very *judicious* it was to *divert*, *cross*, and *puzzle* them, in the manner he tells us he contrived to do. His *judgment* however in this case, some men would be apt to think, got the better of something of more value.

“Nor can the *Letter-writer* find any thing in either of the two *Essays*, referred to by the author of the *Preface*, derogatory from established ecclesiastical forms in the least.” p. 53.—Is that the question? But let us not differ with him for small matters. Lord *Clarendon*, in the former of those *Essays*, gives a very contemptible account of the authority of *Antiquity*, and says, among other things, that “it is very little better than *Hypocrisy*, to pretend to submit to the ancient fathers, and primitive practice—when it is so well known, that so much hath been discovered that was not known to them,
“and

“ and other interpretations of the scripture made,
 “ by a greater skill in languages, than was agree-
 “ able to their conceptions y.”

Now, if this be true, I doubt we must either give up the compliments of *Casaubon* and *Grotius*, above celebrated, or acknowledge that his Lordship derogated very greatly from the *merit* of our establishment, and the *sincerity* of its defenders.

In the other Essay, his Lordship affirms roundly, that “ all Liturgies which have ever been instituted for the service and worship of God “ are purely forms of state z.”—The consequences of which position, I leave to the contemplation of those, who call the Church of England the *purest Church upon earth*, and, upon that account, charge those who separate from her with a criminal schism upon scripture grounds. Not to mention that, upon this plan, there can be no such things as established *ecclesiastical* forms in the world.

The *Letter-writer* says, “ the two propositions “ which Bishop *Ward* obliged Dr. *Whitby* to retract are so incautiously expressed, that one “ of them is in terms, and the other by consequence, inconsistent with making an Act of

y Essays, p. 202.

z Ibid. p. 262.

“ Parliament,

“Parliament, or a By-law of a Corporation,
“about any common matter.” p. 54.

Perhaps there are few corporations, perhaps few assemblies of a more consequential kind, without a *weak brother*. I cannot think however there is one of them that hath a *brother* so *weak* as to imagine that Dr. *Whitby* meant a *Member of Parliament*, or an *Alderman of a Corporation*, when he spoke of a *weak Brother* in one of his propositions; or that by, *any thing in the worship of God*, mentioned in the other, he meant, *any common matter*, which may the subject of a Corporation By-Law^a. But indeed our *Letter-writer's* comments are the most curious articles in his pamphlet.

For example. Not being able to set aside *Calamy's* testimony, concerning Bishop *Morley's* speech in Parliament, he attacks the probability of the account with an argument *ab absurdo*, representing, that “the *same things* to which “*Morley* said the Nonconformists would still “have been bound, were the *assent* and *consent*,

^a That the reader may judge of the *Letter-writer's* skill in Casuistry, the two propositions retracted by Dr. *Whitby* are here once more exhibited:

1. *It is not lawful for superiors to impose any thing in the worship of God, which is not antecedently necessary.*
2. *The duty of not offending a weak brother is inconsistent with all human authority of making laws concerning things indifferent.*

“and

“and the *abjuration of the covenant*, from which, “he proposed to set them free.” p. 55. Whereas a less enlightened critic would have seen, that it was the *general obligation to conform to every ceremony, and every tittle of the public service*, which would have remained upon them, from *other* parts of the Act of uniformity, notwithstanding they should have been released from declaring their *assent* and *consent* to the Liturgy, or dispensed with from *abjuring the Covenant*.

Whatever *Sheldon*, *Morley*, and *Ward* might be in other respects, they were *rigid, determined*, but occasionally dissembling intolerants, whenever any sort of accommodations of the public services to the minds of many scrupulous, but honest and learned men, were attempted, or proposed^b. And to this temper and these en-

^b He objects to *Calamy's* testimony concerning the transaction between Bishop *Ward* and Dr. *Wilkins*, because Bishop *Burnet* says nothing of it. It is however rendered highly probable by an authority of more account with the *Letter-writer* than Bishop *Burnet*, viz. the more orthodox *Anthony Wood*, who tells us, that “the two Archbishops *Sheldon* and *Dolbein*, and Bishop *Fell*, did malign *Wilkins*, for his *wavering and inconstant principles in religion*.” *Ath. Oxon.* vol. ii. col. 506. which the compiler of his article in the *Biographia Britannica*, though not void of *malignity* towards this eminent Prelate, interprets to mean, “*Wilkins's* promoting a comprehension with the Dissenters.” vol. vi. part ii. p. 4273. Was *Ward*, a creature of *Sheldon's*, to be guilty of *misprision*, by keeping *Wilkins's* dangerous secret to himself?

deavours

deavours it is that the author of the *Preface* directs his remarks, and not to their *judgement* on the merit or propriety of the several alterations and amendments specified on such occasions.

In order to discredit what the author of the *Preface* had said, concerning the project of a reformation in 1668, by Sir *Orlando Bridgman*, Lord Chief Justice *Hale*, &c. ; the *Letter-writer* appeals to one Dr. *Burton*, who, being appointed, among others, to treat with some leading Presbyterians on that occasion, “found them “so backward to make any reasonable advances, “or adhere to those they seemed to make, that “they grew weary of treating with them.” p. 56.—For which the *Letter-writer* himself gives a very good reason, by observing, p. 54. that “the reformation then proposed was a “very *insufficient* and *trifling* one.” This Dr. *Burton* is one of Bishop *Ellis*’s authorities in his *Plea for his Test*; and there, I suppose, the *Letter-writer* found him, and was surely neither wise nor grateful to his *oracle*, in thus disabling the testimony of his Witness.

He next cites Dr. *Calamy* and Bishop *Burnet*, to give an account of THIS STEP in 1668 ; the one in a relation of something which happened in 1672 ; the other, in a narrative of what fell out in 1681 ; as if the author of the *Preface* had undertaken for the Presbyterians, that because they
were

were in the right at *one* period, they never could be in the wrong at *any other*.

Suffice it therefore just to observe, that he hath managed these two witnesses, just as he has done all the rest, by concealing what was not for his purpose, and misrepresenting what he thought had a more favourable aspect towards his cause^c.

^c Page 598, of *Calamy's* Abridgment, to which he refers, contains the history of 1701, and is I suppose mistaken for p. 335, where there is indeed an account of an *ill spirit* that was got among some of the Presbyterians in 1672, which however concerned *Baxter* only, and was very industriously fomented by the High-church Conformists, who raised reports of his being about to conform, in which Bishop *Morley* was not inactive. The genuine account of this whole affair may be found in *Baxter's* Life by *Sylvester*, part iii. p. 70, 71; and indeed enough for the purpose in *Calamy*, ungarbled by the *Letter-writer*.

In the other passage referred to by the *Letter-writer*, which may be found, Hist. of his O. T. vol. I. 405. Bishop *Burnet*, for what reason, one cannot pretend to say, mentions the Bill of *comprehension*, about which he represents the Presbyterians so indifferent, as *posterior* to the Bill for exempting them from the penalties in the act of 35 *Eliz.* whereas it was *prior* to it. *Rapin's* account is this, "The 21st of December [1681], a Bill was read the first time, for uniting the King's Protestant subjects. While the rigid Episcopalians prevailed, in the second Parliament of this reign, they had carefully avoided to distinguish the Protestant Nonconformists from others [Papists], because it was advantageous to make them but one body under the same name. But the Parliament, which had other views, neglected not to make so proper a distinction. This Bill, which was perhaps too indulgent to the Presbyte-

H

We

We are now arrived at the ecclesiastical Commission of 1689, on which the *Letter-writer* opens his budget with observing, "That no
 "propofals for the purpose of a reformation
 "being laid before the Convocation, they could
 "not there meet with an *effectual defeat*," p. 57. as the author of the *Preface* had asserted. A most important remark: which however will hardly keep it's countenance against the following account: "This man [*Jane*], as soon as he
 "got into the chair, opposing every thing that
 "was *propofed* or *intended* by the Royal Commis-
 "sion, was the principal occasion that nothing
 "succeeded^d."

In remarking upon what the author of the *Preface* had said of the convocation-men's ob-

rians, *having met with strong opposition in the House*, was at
 "last given up for one less advantageous, which exempted the
 "Protestant Dissenters from the penalties enacted against the
 "Papists." 35 *Eliz.* Rapin, octavo, 1731, vol. XIV. p. 277.
Calamy gives the heads of the Bill of Comprehension, and an
 account of some of the speakers and speeches for and against it;
 which makes it the more marvellous where Bishop *Burnet* met
 with his account of the *no concern* in the Dissenters to promote
 it, especially as in his account of the *less indulgent* Bill, brought
 in upon the loss of it, he tells us the Bishops opposed it, as
 thinking those *terrors* in Queen *Elizabeth's* Act of some use in
 keeping down the *insolence* of the Dissenters. He relates like-
 wise the scandalous trick by which it was lost. All which our
 ingenuous *Letter-writer* thought fit to keep to himself.

^d Life of Dr. Prideaux.

jection to the address of the upper house, the *Letter-writer* observes, that "*their* word was "*religion*," p. 58. True, but the question is, what they meant by it? Though the Convocation addressed the King in English, *Religion* is a Latin word, and sometimes signifies *superstition* :

Tantum Relligio potuit suadere malorum.

It likewise, as the author suggests from *Gal. i. 14*, signifies *Judaism*, for so it seems our translators *there* understood it. Would the *Letter-writer* have taken it well, if the Prefacer had represented the Convocation-men as saying, "We do not think fit to mention the word *judaism*, or the word *superstition*, any farther than it is the *judaism*, or the *superstition*, of some formed established church?" It was therefore a compliment to these Gentlemen, to suppose they meant *religion* in the best sense, that of *ᾠρθόδοξα*.

Upon the supposition that the word *religion* is as well applicable to the external worship of the visible church, as it is to the internal devotion of the invisible, the *Letter-writer* asks, "May there not be *fit occasions* to speak of it sometimes only in the former sense, and sometimes only in the latter?" p. 58. Certainly; but *no fit occasions*, to speak of it so in the *former* sense, as utterly to exclude the *latter* sense, which was the case with these convocation-men; and makes all the learning of our *Letter-writer* upon this subject wholly impertinent; for the objection to

these men, was not that they applied *religion* to a formed established church, or that the word *θρησκεία* may be so applied^c; but that by thinking “the word *religion* not fit to be mentioned, any farther than it is a religion of some formed established Church,” they utterly excluded all idea of religion from every act of worship, and every expression or sentiment of devotion, which was not the worship or the Devotion of a formed established church.

The reading of the text being thus settled, now for the comment. “They meant,” says the *Letter-writer*, “that although, as they offered to assure the King, the *interest of all the*

^c To prove this point, the *Letter-writer* cites *Acts* xxvi. 5. but unfortunately for him, the words there are *την αἵρεσιν της ἡμετέρας θρησκείας*, so that the notion here must be, not the religion of a formed established Church, but *three* formed and established sects of one religion. Now, I apprehend, the proof of the establishment of these sects would be a great curiosity. The *Pharisees* made the word of God of none effect by their traditions; and in the strict observance of these traditions consisted the religion of *Paul* before his conversion, *Gal* i. 14. Who established this sect? the *Sadducees* denied the resurrection, and the inspiration of the Prophets. Who established these? the *Essenes* were *fatalists*, and were strongly suspected of worshipping the sun. Who established these? not the Law of Moses, not the Sanhedrim, for there were points of difference among the principals of each sect, who were members of the great Council, and tumults and riots among their respective followers concerning these differences, which would not have been allowed in a formed established religion. It follows, that the Jewish was a *tolerated* religion, depending for its existence, at the time in question, on the indulgence of the *Romans*.

“Protestant

“ Protestant churches was dear to them, yet
 “ they did not think fit, on addressing him, as a
 “ convocation of the Church of *England*, to use
 “ an expression which might seem to include per-
 “ sons calling themselves Protestants, though of
 “ no church, or separatists without cause from
 “ the church of which they were representa-
 “ tives,” p. 59.

If any of these Convocation-men were now living, I wonder what they would think of their commentator, in thus nicely distinguishing between the *interest* and the *religion* of *all* these Protestant churches. The *interest*, it seems, of *all* the Protestant churches (among others, of the Protestant churches of separatists without cause) was *dear* to them, although they could not allow them to have any religion. For if the separatists without cause had no religion, neither had those foreign Protestants any, whose churches were formed upon the same principles as the churches of our domestic separatists. The result is, that the *interest* of all these Protestant churches, so dear to the convocation-men, comprehended every good thing, exclusive of *religion* — Immenſe delicacy !

But we return once more to our criticisms.
 “ *Their religion*, [the religion of the convoca-
 “ tion-men,] you think, *had rather a Pagan caſt*,
 “ BECAUSE, like that of *Cicero*, it comprehended

"the fear of God, with the outward worship," p. 60. No, Sir; Because, if you please, it expressed the fear of God in outward worship ONLY, and because it excluded the moral duties of mankind from the idea of religion as *Cicero's* did ^f.

"*Festus's* description of a *religious* man has no "fear of God, or outward worship in it," *ibid.* No! what then does he think is the meaning of the words, SANCTITATEM *Deorum magni aestimans*? He does not know. Let him look down to the margin, and he will learn ^g. I owe him this good turn, in requital for his information, that the *fear of God* is incompatible with doing our duty to our neighbour. *Festus*, however, thought there was some little *religion* in the latter.

^f RELIGIONEM eam quæ in metu et ceremonia *Deorum* fit, appellant. PIETATEM, quæ erga patriam, aut parentes, aut alios sanguine conjunctos officium conservare moneat. *De Inventione*, ii. 22. There are *some* Christians, I would hope, who think there may be full as much of true religion and of the *fear of God* in this *piety* to our parents and our country, as in the practice of all the ceremonies in the *Roman Ritual*.

^g SANCTITAS autem est scientia colendorum *Deorum*. *Cic. De Nat. Deorum*, I. 41. and *Ovid*, *Fast.* I.

SANCTA patres *Augusta* vocant, *Augusta* vocantur
Templa sacerdotum rite dicata manu.

Surely *Festus's* religious man will at length be sufficiently equipped to our author's taste with externals, by conning all the Pontificals and Consecration offices, he could lay his hands on, in the libraries of the Augurs.

What

What follows after this, about the proceedings of the commissioners, the alterations proposed by them, and the reasons for *secreting* the papers relating to these matters, is completely answered by the *Letter-writer's* information, p. 61, *that the papers are still in being*; and, p. 63, *that the times are altered from what they were*. The question then is, why are they not published now? why should they not be brought to light, if for no other good purpose, yet at least to confront the naughty author of the *Preface*, and many others who may think, as he does, that the concealing them so long is not at all for the credit of those who have had it in their power to publish them? The author of the *Preface* hath been lucky enough to drag into day-light Archbishop *Wake's* correspondence with the *Sorbonne* Doctors. Is not the honour of the Church of *England* as much concerned in vindicating the integrity of so many worthy men of her communion as were commissioned to review the public service, as to support the reputation of an individual, not at all more eminent or excellent than the greater part of those to whom this important affair was committed?

A few remarks, however, upon this subject, as treated by the *Letter-writer*, may not be amiss.

He sends the *Prefacer* to Dr. *Birch*, for the reasons which induced Archbishop *Tenison* to be

cautious of trusting the papers out of his own keeping, which were, "that if they came to be public, they would give no satisfaction to either side, but be rather a handle to mutual reproaches; as one side would upbraid their brethren for having given up so much, while others would justify their Nonconformity, because those concessions were too little, or, however, not yet passed into a law^h."

Archbishop *Tenison* was a great and a good man, equally averse to the *spirit*, as well as the *body* of Popery, and was one of those who entered cordially into this attempt of a comprehension. There is no room to doubt, but that he gave these reasons for preventing the publication of these papers, to some persons, who, he knew, would retail them, such as Dr. *White Kennet* in particular. But they who consider in what times he lived, what sort of *brethren* he had for his contemporaries, the loads of abuse which were thrown upon him by those brethren in *those* days, how that abuse hath been perpetuated by the spawn of those brethren in *ours*ⁱ, — whoever, I say, considers this, will easily believe that his apprehensions of reproach from those who would think the concessions *too little*,

^h *Birch's Life of Tillotson*, p. 191.

ⁱ A remarkable instance of this will be given in the latter part of these *Occasional Remarks*.

were in no degree equal to what he knew he must have borne from the rancour of those who were every day railing at him for *betraying the church*. And this, I conjecture, might be the true reason for his suppressing those papers, which, however, it is pretty plain, some people thought it would have been right to publish; they, I mean, for whose satisfaction the reasons above-mentioned were given, in answer, no doubt, to the expectations they had formed of their being communicated to the world.

But the *Letter-writer* himself acknowledges the times are altered in this respect; and I hope they are, and that the *Letter-writer's* groupe is very considerably thinner than he himself may imagine. Mercy on us, if there should still be a majority so ready to defend the church politics of a *Parker*, a *Whitgift*, a *Bancroft*, a *Laud*, a *Sheldon*, a *Morley*, and a *Ward*, as this reverend divine! However, as he sometimes affects a little moderation, and announces the existence of these papers, and is consequently in the secret, it is in some measure incumbent upon him to satisfy the present generation why the alteration of the times should not make it unnecessary to conceal them any longer?

This he attempts, I suppose, in the following queries. "But are not the times likewise
" altered in *other* respects? Would two thirds,
" would

“ would one third, would one sixth of the dissenters conform now, on the concessions proposed to be made then?” p. 63.

Here again, we see the loss or gain of numbers is the grand consideration with our *Letter-writer*. But to answer his questions directly. *Possibly so ; possibly much otherwise*. But what of that? are not these concessions desirable, though not one dissenter in five hundred should be *brought over* by them? in what respects are they *wrong* or *unreasonable* in themselves? how many, and which of them are of *little moment*? Let them be produced, that we may judge for ourselves: and let him not flatter himself that the world will take things of this consequence upon his bare word.

He goes on: “ Indeed, has not a large and increasing part of them fixed their separation on so very different a footing, that they would slight these as trifles, and make demands of quite another nature?” Ibid.

I answer: Indeed I do not know, nor is it worth the while to inquire. If the concessions the dissenters have required heretofore, if those they require now, or shall require an hundred years hence, are just, equitable, and reasonable in themselves, it was, is, and will be just, equitable, and reasonable to make them, though we had no dissenters among us. If such concessions
or

or demands are unrighteous or unreasonable in themselves, it would not be fit to agree to them, though we were sure of gaining every individual dissenter in the kingdom.

“ And, continues the *Letter-writer*, between
 “ the tenaciousness of the old dissenters, and the
 “ wildness of the new, is it not too likely that
 “ scarce any would be gained?”

The tenaciousness on the one side would probably bear some proportion to the tenaciousness on the other ; which has generally been the case, where disagreeing parties are driving bargains of union and coalescence. If the treaty is founded upon the prospect of gaining or losing strength to a party, no wonder if each of them stand stiffly upon their terms. But what is all this to the merits of the question ^k ?

^k What the *wildness* of these *new* dissenters is, I cannot guess, nor what *new dissenters* he means, unless he has the *Methodists* in his eye ; if so, what right has he to call them *dissenters* ? They pretend at least, and in my opinion have well nigh made good their pretence, that they are equally *orthodox*, and equally *sincere* conformists as they who accuse them of heterodoxy and irregularity, particularly, as the *Letter-writer* and his yoke-fellow Dr. *Nowell*. See *Pietas Oxoniensis*, and *Goliath slain*. Between them, however, they have brought a sufficient number of *fluctuating* interpretations, to convince any man of common sense and common honesty, of the *inutility* of subscription to our established forms, either for the purpose of ascertaining the orthodoxy of the subscribers, or

From

From this period to the end of the paragraph, p. 65, the *Letter-writer* falls into the same tragical apprehensions that had terrified Mr. *White* before him, of the ill-manners and tempers of the people, mixing some presumptions with respect to their superiors, which are far too hot for me to meddle with.

There is a good deal in the same strain, p. 22; and all calculated for the purpose of exculpating the *poor passive ecclesiastics* at the expence of our temporal rulers, who, he thinks, should have been chastised in their turn by the author of the *Preface*, and is accordingly angry with him for his partiality on this head.

But perhaps the author of the *Preface* may not be disposed to agree to the *Letter-writer's* representation? It is possible he may have a better opinion of the people and their lay superiors. He may think there are among all ranks, men of honour and conscience, of good sense, courage, and activity; and that such of these as have the power would not, upon a proper application, be backward to relieve the *poor passive ecclesiastics*, whose cause it really is that is pleaded in *The Confessional*, nor would suffer themselves to be influenced by insinuations

fixing the sense of Scripture by human articles, and have thereby fully established one principal argument in *The Confessional* against all opposers.

buzzed

buzzed in their ears by *rich active ecclesiastics*, that *the state has more need of the church, than the church of the state*. The Author of *The Confessional*, indeed, seems to me, from many things dropped in his book, extremely willing to appeal to such patriotic laymen, whether in or out of parliament, who certainly know the world too well to be apprehensive of any confusion in this case, but such as should be raised and fomented by churchmen of the same spirit with those who, from the first corruption of Christianity, have zealously opposed every step towards a reformation.

It would have been marvellous indeed if the author of the *Preface* had not come under such suspicions of being accessory to the confusion apprehended by the *Letter-writer*. It is a topic *ad augendam invidiam*, too apposite to the *Letter-writer's* views, not to be frequently repeated, and censured with a peculiar malignity.

“Such books as yours,” says he, “and such articles as we continually have in the News-papers, are grievous discouragements to what they would seem designed to promote: for they excite *shrewd suspicions*, that the real intention is not to reform the church, but to make it odious by plausible and growing demands of what you yourselves know cannot be granted,” p. 65.

A man

A man must be of a very feeling constitution who is tormented with the evanescent trifles in a News-paper. Be that as it may, who does the *Letter-writer* expect should be answerable for these? I do not know what *articles* he may allude to; but this I know, that the News-papers have, of late years, abounded with virulent abuses of the Protestant-Reformation, and Protestant-Revolution, with fulsome encomiums of the *Stuarts*, and their tyrannical government, ecclesiastical and civil, with excessively stupid, but at the same time excessively rancorous attacks on those ever-to-be-honoured writers of the last age, who have pleaded with an irresistible force of reason for public liberty civil and religious. Many of these productions, it is next to certain, came from Popish pens. Has the *Letter-writer*, or any of his friends, ever answered any of these? have they ever complained of them? If not, what wonder that some of a dissenting cast, provoked by the impudence of the one sort, and dead silence of the other, should a little too hastily snatch up the cudgel; and, in aiming their strokes at the Mass-house, here and there dash a little untempered mortar from the church¹.

¹ "May the Church of *England*," says the ingenious Mr. *Benjamin Pye*, stand to the remotest ages, on the rock "whereon she is built, as on an isthmus between two contending seas, keeping each within its due bounds, nor suffering either "to overflow its shores." *Five Letters*, Pref. p. vi. Does
But

But what is all this to *The Confessional* or its author? where are *his* plausible and growing demands *which cannot be granted*, to be found? In twenty places the *Letter-writer* is out of humour with him for not specifying particulars; here his demands are perceived to be such as *cannot be granted*. Words, which are so little applicable to the author of *The Confessional*, that, if I were not well assured of the limitations in the *Letter-writer's* commission, I should take them for a peremptory declaration of the sense of the legislature of *Great Britain*, that no demands, relating to a Reformation in the Church of *England*, would ever be granted, *henceforth and for ever*.

Speaking of the *Test*, he says, "Churchmen, "and Clergymen in particular, far from being "fond of a Sacramental Test, would be glad of "any other effectual security in its place," p. 66.

not this look as if the Church of *England* was placed in that situation to *keep the peace* between the Papists and the Protestant Dissenters? and if so, the Dissenter may have no way of coming at his antagonist, but by brushing rudely by the church. Many an honest neutral constable has got his head broke by endeavouring to part a Whig and a Tory mob. Seriously, the image is highly and justly exceptionable, and will, I fear, be considered, by many readers, in an unfavourable light, even for the Church of *England*. But it is only tossing a squib at *The Confessional*, and you may say what you please.

So, I think, Bishop *Ellis* had said before him ; and so I think neither the one nor the other of them would have said, had it not been wrung from them by a consciousness of something *improper* and *unedifying* in the Sacramental Test. This however is borne down, it seems, by the consideration of the *effectual security* it affords to the church.

Some people indeed have asked, why the faith and allegiance, pledged by the Dissenters to the civil government, and its Protestant Head, might not afford all the security wanted? To this the answer has been, What is *that* to the *Church*? And this answer Bishop *Ellis*, at the time his *Plea* was published, might give properly enough in agreement with other defenders of the Test, at or about that time. For the instrument of *Alliance* was not then come to light ; and the Bishop writes at least, as if he knew nothing of it.

But the *Letter-writer* lives in happier and more enlightened times ; and should have known from the Book of *Alliance*, not only that the nature of the compact would not admit of any *succedaneum* for the *Sacramental Test*, but that all scruples about its *propriety* were most dexterously superseded, by considering *utility* as the sole basis of the treaty on *all* sides, with which *Truth*, *Sincerity*,

cerity, Consistency, Edification, &c. &c. have nothing to do, but by mere accident.

The Letter-writer next proceeds to a kind of recapitulation, in defence of his heroes, whose eloquent tongues cannot now speak for themselves, which, according to custom, consists in the abuse and misrepresentation of those who opposed them in their despotic attempts upon Christian liberty.

“The first class,” says he, “objected only to ecclesiastical habits, though enjoined by the Queen’s authority, because the Papists had administred in them,” p. 67.

In the margin he has given us from *Strype* the subscription of *Humfrey* and *Sampson* to a proposition concerning the habits; but has carefully secreted what comes between the proposition and the subscription, namely, what is there called *Dr. Nowell’s* pacification, where, out of *four* objections to the use of the vestments prescribed, *two* at least are such as shew, that conformity in this respect was not refused *only* because the Papists had used them^m.

^m *Whittingham*, Dean of *Durham*, in his Letter to the Earl of *Leicester*, says, “That which maketh a shew for the maintenance of that apparel, is the opinion of *indifferency*. Which thing, he that will persuade, must then prove, that it tendeth to God’s Glory, consenteth with his word, edifieth his church, maintaineth Christian liberty.” These

He says, "the use of them was enjoined by
 "the Queen's authority." *That* is very ques-
 tionable, with respect to the time when the
 first opposition broke out. When *Parker* un-
 derstood the difficulties that arose in the Queen's
 council, concerning the authorising his *Advertise-
 ments*, he says, "The laws [of the land] were
 "so much against the *private doings* of the bi-
 "shops, that, if the Queen would not authorise
 "them, the most part of the orders therein
 "prescribed were like to lie in the dust." Yet
 nothing more certain, than that numbers
 had refused to use the habits long before this
 period.

"That the use of such habits was not *sinful*,"
 says the *Letter-writer*, "*Humfreys* and *Sampson*
 "their leaders acknowledged by their subscrip-
 "tion under their hands, though they refused
 "compliance in their practice," p. 67.

He should have said, "was not *impious*," for
 that is their word; and it would be strange to
 suppose that *Sampson* should suffer himself to be
 deprived of his deanry of *Christ's Church* after

considerations were not founded *simply* on the circumstance that
 the Papists had used the habits, but on the *mischief* and *scandal*
 arising among the Reformed, from the adoption of their super-
 stition in that use. But the Dissidents scrupled not to wear
sleeves and *stockings*, and that was sufficient for the *Letter-writer*.
 See *Strype's Life of Parker*, Appendix, B. II. N° xxvii.

▪ *Strype's Life of Parker*, p. 159.

wards, for not conforming to a practice which he believed not to be *sinful*. The honeſter *Strype* fairly tells us, that “by this ſubſcription *Humfrey* and *Sampſon*, in effect, declared rather “their *diſſent* than their *allowance*°.”

The next article is the *repentance* of *Cartwright* the leader of the diſciplinarians. But of this we have ſaid enough before.

TRAVERS is next brought upon the ſtage by the *Letter-writer*, with every invidious circumſtance of aggravation that his cunning could ſuggeſt.

“The Separatiſts,” ſays he, “went a ſtep further towards reforming our church; for ſeeing it impoſſible to do any thing while the civil magiſtrate was allowed authority in affairs of eccleſiaſtical diſcipline, THEREFORE *Travers*, in behalf of their diſcipline, expreſsly ſays, *huic diſciplinæ omnes reges et principes faſces ſuas ſubmittere neceſſe eſt*,” p. 68.

This moſt injurious miſrepresentation of the excellent *Travers* deſerves more time for attention and examination than I have to beſtow upon it. And therefore, without aſking *what* diſcipline *Travers* meant? or *where* it is that he gives *this reaſon* for advancing this doctrine? I will only aſk, wherein it differs from *Gibſon's*

° Ibid. p. 173.

scheme of *church-power*, laid down in his celebrated *Codex Juris Ecclesiastici*, wherein he proposes, that *The Convocation, or at least a committee of bishops, shall be the ULTIMATE JUDGES in ALL ecclesiastical causes*^p, which he builds upon an authority "belonging to every bishop "by the word of God, *for the exercise of ALL "MANNER OF SPIRITUAL DISCIPLINE within "their respective dioceses*^q." I need not mention what his Lordship and others have alledged against *prohibitions* to the ecclesiastical judges, from the temporal courts, where they as *effectually*, if not as *expressly*, exclude the King's supremacy in causes ecclesiastical, as any one of the old disciplinarians.

After this, it will not be necessary to say much of Archbishop *Whitgift's* exaggerating and invidious remarks upon the book of discipline, cited by the Letter-writer. Two circumstances appear in the very page he refers to, sufficient to satisfy us what to think of them. 1. The Archbishop's censure of *Buchanan's* book *De jure regni apud Scotos*, testifying thereby an equal respect for the *civil*, as he had all along shewn for the *religious* rights of his countrymen. 2. An account of an Address from the House of

^p An Examination of the scheme of Church Power laid down in the *Codex*, &c. p. 62.

^q *Ibid.* p. 35.

Commons to the Queen on the behalf of this *Discipline*^r, an honour which Bishop *Gibson's* scheme of church-power hath never yet met with.

But all this would not still do, without a *convert* from this disciplinarian system. "One of these," says the *Letter-writer*, "who honestly submitted to quit his preferment, rather than subscribe to to our government and liturgy, was Dr. *J. Burges*, who was soon convinced of his error, and became a profest champion of both," p. 68.

Heylin, the *Letter-writer's* authority for this anecdote, tells us how this came about. *Burges* was first committed prisoner for something in a sermon preached before the King in 1604. Afterwards, in consequence of a petition to the King, he was admitted to a *personal conference* with his Majesty, whose arguments, seconded with a better benefice, set the good Doctor to rights, and made him a complete champion.

^r *Strype's Life of Whitgift*, p. 259. There were indeed divers attempts in the House of Commons in favour of this discipline, before this period, a remarkable remonstrance in particular to the Lords, exhibited in Sir *Simmonds D'Ewes's Journal*, p. 357, and said by *Strype* to be drawn by *Sampson*; which shews, not only that the Commons had not those frightful ideas of the Brethrens Discipline, with which the *Letter-writer* would terrify us, but likewise the *firmness* of the Bishops in withstanding the most reasonable reformatations in the church.

Heylin however observes, that "the gaining of
" this man did not still the rest *."

William Prynne is another of his converts,
" who," he tells us, " had been a very active
" adversary to *monarchy* and *episcopacy*," p. 69.

Let us hear *Prynne* himself upon this subject.
" For my own particular, as I *always* have been,
" and *always* shall be, an honourer and defender
" of Kings and Monarchy (the best of govern-
" ment, whiles it keeps within the bounds which
" law and conscience have prescribed); so I shall
" never degenerate so far beneath the duty of
" a man, a lawyer, a scholar, a Christian, as to
" misinform or flatter either, nor yet (out of any
" popular vain glory) court either Parliaments
" or people, to the prejudice of king's just
" royalties †."

The *Letter-writer* goes on. " And contri-
" buted much to the demolition of both." Why
truly he had no great reason to support the
Episcopacy then in fashion. But every one knows
he was a determined enemy to *Cromwell's* pro-
ceedings, in the demolition of the Monarchy;
and was actually imprisoned with several others
on account of their zeal for a peace and settle-
ment with the King †.

* Hist. of the Presbyterians, p. 377.

† Preface to the fourth part of the *Sovereign Power of Par-
liaments*, quarto, 1643.

‡ See his article, *Biog. Brit.* Appendix, p. 147.

Again. — “ Was so heartily convinced of the
 “ mischievous consequences of that demolition,
 “ that he became a considerable instrument in
 “ the restoration of both.”

So *considerable*, that he was desired by *Monk*
 and his party to be quiet, since such declarations
 as he made in Parliament were *unseasonable* *.
 As to his contributing to the restoration of Episcopacy, he was, like the rest of the Presbyterians, instrumental to it, in so far as he came into the restoration of the King, which, by *accident*, and the circumstances consequent upon it, produced the restoration of Episcopacy, fore against their minds.

“ If the reader,” says the *Letter-writer*,
 “ wonder what could induce you to give so ma-
 “ licious a misrepresentation of facts, at all times
 “ unseasonable, but at this time more particu-
 “ larly, you say, *quite so*, you inform us it is the
 “ redoubled efforts of Popery, to enlarge her
 “ borders,” &c. p. 69.

And indeed, well may the reader wonder,
 that the author of the *Preface* should acknow-

* Ibid. The *Letter-writer* makes all this out from a short note of *Tindal's*, in the octavo edition of *Rapin*, 1730, vol. XIII. p. 416, which gives him no authority for the better half of it. Not to mention that *Rapin* says in the text to which this is the note, “ that most of *Prynne's* treatises are of “ *little esteem*.” Perhaps much less *after* than *before* his conversion.

ledge, first, that he had *maliciously* misrepresented facts, and then confess that such misrepresentation was *quite* unseasonable. And all this before any grave *Letter-writer* had arisen to point out his errors, and to put him to his penance for them.

But will not the reader rather wonder what could induce any man of common apprehension to write down such a piece of *malicious* nonsense? will he not be apt to ask whether it is meant that the *malicious misrepresentation* or the *facts* are *unseasonable*? It cannot be the *malicious misrepresentation*, for that is not *more particularly* unseasonable at one time than another. And if the *facts* be meant, pray *what* facts are referred to? The names of *Travers*, *Burges*, or *Prynne*, to whom the immediately foregoing facts relate in the *Letter*, do not once occur in the *Preface*, nor any thing particularly relating to their personal history. Why then should what the author of the *Preface* says of the *publication* of his *whole work* be confined to these, or any particular facts mentioned in the *Preface*?

Why, truly, the case is only this. The *Letter-writer* minding to shew that reformations in the church were *more particularly* unseasonable *at the time* he wrote, and to shew this by the ancient and laudable methods of *crossing* and
puzzling,

puzzling, he got into a scrape, and not being his crafts-master, he had the misfortune to *cross* and puzzle nobody but himself.

Having very *unmaliciously* inferred, that because one of two certain prelates, mentioned in the Preface, *persevered* in his liberal sentiments, the other must have *apostatized* from them, he adds, "unless some who should know are greatly misled, "neither of them patronized *the True*" [it should be *the Free*] "*and candid Disquisitions*, "and I conceive that book to be a main test of "orthodoxy with you," p. 71.

Is the *Letter-writer* sure that the patronage of the *Free and candid Disquisitions* is the instance here meant? is he sure it might *not* be an instance, wherein one of these prelates had not an opportunity of shewing his perseverance? is it impossible that some people, who *should know better*, may be *grievously misled*, by false information, groundless surmises, the officiousness of eves-droppers, and even by their own prejudices in *other cases*, as well as this of the *Free and Candid Disquisitions*?

One instance, however, I will give him of the *perseverance* of *both* these worthy Prelates. Neither of them, whatever opinions they formed of the *Disquisitions*, ever thought it necessary, even in those *disquisitorial* times, to make *new tests of orthodoxy*, and to require subscription to them

them as a qualification for holding preferment, which the law of the land neither required nor authorised.

All that follows from p. 71, to p. 74, in this *Letter*, concerning the pains taken to suppress Popery, is exceedingly comfortable; and I dare answer for the author of the *Preface*, that, notwithstanding the insinuations of the *Letter-writer*, he will cordially rejoice to be confuted by such facts as this gentleman can bring to support his *general* representation. There are, however, already facts of different kinds relating to this matter, before the public; and let the public judge of them. One fact I shall beg leave to mention. About the time this *Letter* was published, appeared an *Apology for the Catholics of Great Britain and Ireland*, wherein are some particulars which may afford useful reflexions to those who will take the pains to compare with them some parts of this writer's *second* and *third* Letters to the Author of *The Confessional*, of which, probably, my worthy Friend, you may hear more hereafter.

I can but guess what the MASTER ARGUMENT against Popery, alluded to by the Author of the *Preface*, may be. I suppose he may mean the argument drawn from the *nullity* of church-authority in general, in agreement with the ever-memorable *Hales*. If, in rooting up this pretended

tended authority of the church of *Rome*, a preacher should chance to loosen the pretensions to it in some other church calling itself *Protestant*, I have no doubt but the *Letter-writer* would immediately remonstrate, that this was preaching against that church. And so far he would be very intelligible. But, I must confess, it exceeds my comprehension, how a preacher, who *has leave* to preach against a lower degree of church-authority, *can have leave to let alone* an higher degree of it, which must of course be condemned *à fortiori*.

model authority of the church of Rome, a
 preacher should chance to look at the pretensions
 to it in some other church calling itself Protestant.
 And I have no doubt but the latter would
 would immediately remonstrate, that this was
 pretension against the church. And so far he
 would be very intelligible. But I must confess,
 I cannot see my comprehension, how a preacher,
 who has been so much against a lower degree
 of episcopal authority, can have leave to use some
 higher degree of it, which rank of course
 be considered a fault.

OCCASIONAL REMARKS

O N

Dr. MACLAINE's Third APPENDIX to
his Second Edition of MOSHEIM's EC-
CLESIASTICAL HISTORY, in Defence of
Archbishop WAKE.

— *Per adversum irritus*
Redeunte toties luditur saxo labor.

OCCASIONAL REMARKS

ON

THE MANNER OF THE ARRIVAL OF
THE SECOND FLOOD OF MOUNTAIN FISH
IN THE DISTRICT OF
ANTHONY, WASH.

By
J. H. HARRIS

OCCASIONAL REMARKS

ON

Dr. MACLAINE'S Third Appendix.

I was going on to consider, what the *Letter-writer* hath said on the behalf of Archbishop *Wake*, with respect to his transaction with the Doctors of the *Sorbonne*, concerning an Union between the English and Gallican Churches, when, being informed that Dr. *MacLaine* had undertaken the Archbishop's defence against the author of *The Confessional*, in a particular tract, I determined to wait for its publication, and not long after received the Doctor's *Supplement* to the Quarto Edition of his Translation of *Mosheim's Ecclesiastical History*, where, in a Third Appendix, and a series of Letters subjoined, is contained his defence of Archbishop *Wake*.

Dr.

Dr. *MacLaine's* reasoning upon the Correspondence there exhibited is much the same with that of the *Letter-writer*, as likewise his reproofs of the author of *The Confessional*, infomuch, that it is *possible*, if not *probable*, they may have conferred notes upon the subject; there is at least a remarkable resemblance in their sentiments, and even in their language, which seems strongly to mark congenial talents for defending such a cause as that of Archbishop *Wake*, and taking down the *intrepidity* of such adventurers as He of *The Confessional*.

But as Dr. *MacLaine* is much the more temperate and agreeable writer of the two, and has nothing of that devotional Grimace, which the *Letter-writer* is perpetually intermixing with the overflowings of a very different spirit, it is much more eligible to debate the matters in question with him, which I hope to do without transgressing those rules of civility and good-manners, that ought to be observed towards a gentleman and a scholar, though an adversary, at least in the same degree that the Doctor himself hath observed them towards the author of *The Confessional*.

In perusing the Archbishop's Letters exhibited in this Supplement, I was immediately struck with a reflection, that if, as was natural enough to suppose, the author of *The Confessional* had undertaken

undertaken to defend Archbishop *Wake* against *Mosheim's*, or rather Dr. *Macclaine's* account of this transaction^a, and Dr. *Macclaine* had stood up to vindicate his author, and to fix the charge upon the Archbishop, nothing could have been more to the Doctor's purpose than these very letters; and I cannot but look upon the expedient of furnishing Dr. *Macclaine* with these *authentic copies*, as one token that the answerers of *The Confessional* were taken by surprize, and determined in the conduct of their several defences, rather by the *necessity* of answering an ob-

^a I make this distinction, because I am not certain that *Mosheim's* Latin, *salvis utriusque partis sententiis plerisque*, will justify Dr. *Macclaine's* English, that each of the two communities should retain the greatest part of their respective and peculiar doctrines. The English seems to me to make the Archbishop a little more liable to censure than the Latin; and so I conjecture it seemed to the Letter-writer, who, to aggravate the charge of misrepresentation in the author of *The Confessional*, cites *Mosheim's* Latin, and observes, the author had no grounds to go upon but what he found in Mr. *Macclaine's* Translation, p. 76, 77. And indeed I am disposed to think that if the author of *The Confessional* had seen the original before he wrote, or republished his Preface, which we now know he had not, [see the *Appendix to Remarks upon the first of three Letters against the Confessional*, p. viii.] he would perhaps have softened his censure of Archbishop *Wake* in some degree. But as matters have been managed among the sagacious vindicators of the Archbishop, both Dr. *Macclaine's* translation, and the remarks upon it in the Preface to *The Confessional*, are sufficiently supported by matters of Fact.

noxious book *at all events*, than by the merit and propriety of the materials employed in that service.

On another hand, to some people it may appear whimsical enough, that the defence of an Archbishop of *Canterbury*, suspected of *Romanizing* a little, should be committed to the care of a Minister of the English church at the *Hague*^b, against the censures of one who, as the serious and solemn *Letter-writer* is ready to make oath, has an ecclesiastical station and character in the ecclesiastical church of England.

But not to dwell upon circumstances of little moment, the questions in dispute are these two:

1. Whether Archbishop *Wake* was the person who formed this project of an Union between

^b I do not pretend to know any thing of the discipline or the Constitution of the English Church at the *Hague*, which hath so learned and respectable a Pastor as Dr. *MacLaine*. It may, for any thing I know, be *episcopal*. But an expression in Dr. *MacLaine's* Dedication to the Prince of *Orange*, whom he calls, *the Ornament and the Defender of the pure and holy religion of the UNITED PROVINCES*, and the testimony he bears to his Royal Highness's behaviour on a solemn occasion when the Dr. was present, inclines me to think, this English church is conformable to the established religion of the country: a circumstance which derives no dishonour on the ingenious Defender of Dr. *Wake*. When *Truth* is understood to be at stake, nothing can be more noble, nothing more praise-worthy, than to lay aside all systematical prejudices for its sake, though nothing is more uncommon.

the

the church of *England*, and the *Gallican* church; or whether the project was formed by his correspondents of the *Sorbonne*?

2. Whether, in order to compass this union, the Archbishop would have given up any thing on the part of the church of *England*, and what?

Let us try now what intelligence may be gained from these Letters towards the determination of these questions.

The first mention made of this union, is in Mr. *Beauvoir's* Letter to the Archbishop, N° II, bearing date 11 Dec. 1717, O. S. wherein his Grace is informed, that Mr. *Beauvoir* dined, on a certain day, with Dr. *Dupin*, the syndic of the *Sorbonne*, and two other doctors; and that these doctors "wished for an Union with the church of *England*, as the most effectual means to unite all the western churches."

The next Letter, N° III, is from Archbishop *Wake* to Mr. *Beauvoir*, bearing date Aug. 30, 1718, which begins thus. "I told you in *one of my last letters*, how little I expected from the present pretences of a Union with us."

You will please to observe, that this letter bears date above *eight months* after the *Sorbonnists* had expressed their wish abovementioned, that his Grace had written *one* letter at least to

Mr. *Beauvoir* before, but *probably*, (I beg pardon) *possibly* more than one on this subject, and that his Grace expected little from the *present pretences* of an Union with the church of *England*.

Now what were these *present pretences*? had the Archbishop's intermediate letter or letters appeared, we should perhaps have been satisfied what they were, and what it was that had *lessened* the Archbishop's expectations from them; for, it seems, his Grace suspected, Mr. *Beauvoir* might think he had *altered his mind*, since the affair was first set on foot^c.

If we take things as they lye before us in these *authentic copies*, nothing appears of the sort, but a *wish* expressed by some catholic doctors for such Union, at an entertainment: and if we add to this the passage cited by Dr. *Mac-laine* from *Dupin's* Letter to the Archbishop^d, it is still but a *wish*; and I think he who first endeavoured to *realize* the wish, may rather be said to *set the project on foot*, than he or they who barely *wished* for it.

“ My task, says the Archbishop, is pretty
“ hard, and I scarce know how to manage my-
“ self in this matter. To go any farther than

^c P. 42.

^d *Supplement*, p. 25.

“ I have

“ I have done in it, even as a Divine only of the
 “ Church of England, may meet with censure ;
 “ and as Archbishop of *Canterbury*, I cannot
 “ treat with these Gentlemen.”

Does not this most plainly imply, that as a
Divine only of the Church of England, he had
 treated with these Gentlemen *quâdam tenus*,
 that is to say, as far as his apprehensions of
 meeting with censure would allow ? To treating
 with the Cardinal, as Archbishop of *Canterbury*,
 he had no sort of objection, even till the treaty
 should be so far advanced, that it would become
 necessary “ to consult with his brethren, and
 “ to ask his Majesty’s leave to correspond with
 “ the Cardinal concerning it.” We shall see
 presently, however, that these scruples had all
 vanished in the space of a few Weeks.

The good Prelate indeed had gone far enough
 with these Gentlemen to be greatly perplexed in
 his situation. *He knew not how to manage himself
 in the matter.* He had managed the matter so,
 it seems, that *Dupin* had taken it into his head,
 that the managers on the part of the church of
England should take the direction of the *Sorbon-*
nists, what to retain, and what to give up. No
 wonder that, matters being at this pass, the
 Archbishop should be afraid of meeting with
 censure, if he proceeded any farther. No won-

der some people should have furnished, that he deserved censure for proceeding so far.

The ready way therefore to exculpate his Grace, if he were blameless, would have been to have published his whole correspondence with Mr. *Beauvoir*, from *December* 11th, 1717, to *August* 30, 1718, by which it would have appeared what proposals had been made on the one side and on the other, and where the project of realizing the wishes of the *Sorbonnists* had begun.

Dr. *MacLaine* cannot say this whole intermediate correspondence is lost. He has given us, in p. 24. of his *Supplement*, an extract from one Letter of Archbishop *Wake* to Mr. *Beauvoir*, dated *January* 2, 1717-18, which is within the interval in question. It is true, the Doctor assures the author of *The Confessional*, who had called for it, "that in that Letter, there is not "a single syllable relative to a Union." Be it so; this then cannot be *that one* of the *last letters*, which the Archbishop mentions in the letter under consideration of *August* 30, 1718. What is become of *that* Letter, and others within the same interval, which doubtless, had syllables in them relative to a Union?

One circumstance more, in this letter of *August* 30, is too striking to be overlooked. His Grace says, towards the latter end of it, "it is
"good

“good—to let them see that we neither *need*
 “nor *seek* the Union proposed, but for their sake
 “as well as our own.” In his Grace’s idea of
 things, the Union was *needed*. Under that per-
 suasion he *sought* it. Can they who *seek* an Union
 which they *need*, be supposed to be the secon-
 dary movers in it? has *Mosheim* in his Latin, has
 even Dr. *Maclaine* in his English, said more than
 the Archbishop himself hath here confessed?

However, let us proceed. The Letter from
 Archbishop *Wake* to Mr. *Beauvoir*, *October 3*,
 1718, N^o IV. in the Collection, begins thus:

“Whatever be the consequence of our cor-
 “responding with the *Sorbonne* Doctors about
 “matters of religion, the present situation of our
 “affairs plainly seems to make it necessary for
 “us so to do.”

Here, we see, the good Prelate hath laid aside
 all his apprehensions of incurring censure from
 his proceeding farther in this business; he no
 longer sticks at the impropriety of an Archbishop
 of *Canterbury’s* corresponding with two private
 Doctors of the *Sorbonne*, even on a point of this
 importance, without either consulting his bre-
 thren, or asking his Majesty’s leave. The situa-
 tion of affairs in *England* made it *necessary*, and
 that was sufficient.

One might ask here, whence arose this *necessity*? and what situation of what affairs created it? It could hardly be *state-affairs*; for the subject of the correspondence was, *matters of religion*, and was consequently made *necessary* by the situation of *religious affairs*. I do not chuse, *at present*, to form any conjecture concerning this *situation*. Were one sure of guessing ever so right, you may be equally sure, that the *Letter-writer* and Dr. *MacLaine* would contradict you. I shall therefore postpone this inquiry till we have proceeded a little farther, and till it comes in course to be considered, what Dr. *MacLaine* hath said in vindication of Archbishop *Wake* upon some other points. To return to the matter in question.

We may observe, in the course of this correspondence of the Archbishop with Mr. *Beauvoir*, a great solicitude to discover the real sentiments of the Gentlemen of the *Sorbonne*, upon the subjects of it: "Pray," says his Grace in this letter to Mr. *Beauvoir*, "do all you can to search out their real sense of, and motions at, the receipt of these two letters; I shall thereby be able the better to judge, how far I may venture hereafter to OFFER any thing to them upon the OTHER points in difference between us."

Can

Can words make any thing plainer than these do, that the Archbishop was not in possession of the *real* sentiments of these *Sorbonnists*, on the subject of an Union? can any thing be more natural than an inference drawn from this passage, that, howsoever they might have expressed their *wishes* for an Union with the Church of *England*, no *proposals* had been made by them, which discovered their *real sentiments*? is it not clear that the Archbishop considered himself as the *offering* party, with respect to the points in difference between them?

I shall be told, that Du Pin's *Commonitorium* was in the Archbishop's hands some time before the date of this Letter. True; but some time still before that, Dr. *Girardin's* speech before the *Sorbonne*, March $\frac{17}{28}$, 1717-18, was in the Archbishop's hands; and it is from that time that Dr. *Maclaine* dates the commencement of a *more close, serious, and interesting* correspondence between the contracting parties, "when even
"some particular mention of preliminary terms,
"and certain preparatives for a future negotiation were brought on^e."

Now just here it is, that we want those *intermediate* Letters, of which the Archbishop makes mention in that of *August 30*.

^e *Supplement*, p. 26.

Dr. *MacLaine* cites a passage from this speech of *Girardin*, which, according to him, “disco-
vers rather a desire of making profelytes, than
“an inclination to form a coalition, founded up-
“on concessions, and some reformation on the
“side of Popery ^f.”

And yet, from this speech, Archbishop *Wake* takes occasion to enter into a more *close*, *serious*, and *interesting* correspondence with the Gallican Doctors. On which side was the more *close* correspondence likely to *begin*? on that side which only wanted to make profelytes; or on the other, which *seriously* wanted a *coalition*, and in order to that some concessions, and some reformation on the side of Popery?

The first explanation of themselves which these *Sorbonnists* vouchsafed to the Archbishop, seems

ⁱ *Ibid.* Dr. *MacLaine* endeavours to qualify this interpretation by saying, “It may perhaps be alledged, in opposition to this
“remark, that prudence required a language of this kind in
“the infancy of a project of Union, whatever concessions might
“be offered afterwards to bring about it’s execution. And this,
“says the Doctor, may be true.” A *saving* consideration! evidently calculated to excuse the Archbishop for entering into a correspondence with such people on such a subject. Dr. *MacLaine*, doubtless, means to suggest, that the Archbishop *might* understand it thus; which however plainly supposes him to be previously let into the secret: and it may be left to the first sensible man you meet, to determine, whether it contributes more to his Grace’s honour, to be considered as the dupe of, or an accomplice in, this kind of *Prudence*.

to have been in Dupin's *Commonitorium*, which, according to Dr. *Maclaine*, did not come into the Archbishop's hands till after the 11th of *August*, 1718 §. A number of Letters however had passed between the parties, from *March* 17, 1717-18, to this period, which ought to have been produced (particularly those from the Archbishop to Messieurs *Beauvoir*, *Dupin*, and *Girardin*,) by those who desire fairly to prove, that his Grace *did NOT form the project of this Union*.

These Letters cannot be said to be lost. Dr. *Maclaine* hath cited them ; but it is but by *piecemeal*, which can never satisfy those who want to know the Archbishop's whole transactions with the Gallican doctors, between *March* 1717-18, when the Correspondence became *more close, serious, and interesting*, and *Aug.* 11th, 1718, soon after which the Archbishop received the *Commonitorium*.

Girardin's speech, we are told by Dr. *Maclaine*, brought on some particular mention of *preliminary terms*. This however does not appear on the part of the *Sorbonnists*, from the Doctor's account of *their* correspondence ; according to Dr. *Maclaine's* representation, the *Gallican* Letters are just as *vague* before the speech as after it, till the arrival of the *Commonitorium* :

§ Supplement, p. 27.

and,

and, as the Archbishop complains, mere letters of compliment ^h.

On the part of the Archbishop, however, *one* preliminary term *does* appear during this interval, upon the evidence of Dr. Maclaine himself, viz. "the removal of the *Gallican* church from "the jurisdiction of *Rome* ⁱ."

Need we wonder, after all this, that *Dupin*, in the account he drew up of this Correspondence, should represent the Archbishop as the first mover in the project of this Union? does not the very correspondence itself justify *Dupin* in that representation? does not the Archbishop represent himself as the seeker of the Union? does it not appear from Dr. Maclaine's own detail, that the Archbishop proposed a *preliminary term*, before any the like advances were made by the *Sorbonnists*? does not the Archbishop, after all the more *close, serious, and interesting* correspondence brought on by *Girardin's* speech, call all that had passed on the side of the *Gallican* Doctors from that period, to Aug. 30, mere *pretences*? will any thing in Dr. Maclaine's account of the share taken by the *Sorbonnists* in this project of an Union, allow him to call them the *first Formers* of it? and if they were not, who was?

^h *Supplement*, p. 43.

ⁱ *Ibid.* p. 27.

Dr. *Maclaine* indeed informs us, that when *Dupin* shewed to Mr. *Beauvoir* his account of this famous correspondence, “Mr. *Beauvoir* observed to him, that one would be led to imagine, from the manner in which this account was drawn up, that the Archbishop made the first overtures with respect to the correspondence, and was the first who intimated his desire of the Union; whereas it was palpably evident, that he (Dr. *Du Pin*) had first solicited the one and the other. *Du Pin* acknowledged this freely and candidly, and promised to rectify it; but was prevented by death^k.”

The authenticity of this anecdote depends upon Dr. *Maclaine*'s credit; not solely indeed, for the *Letter-writer* had mentioned it before him, and nearly in the very same terms. Neither of them however refers to any other authority, and on that account leave us to wonder how *Du Pin* could make such a mistake. Is it likely that, having been concerned so deeply in this treaty, he should *forget* how it began at the first?

However, it seems, this mistake he did make, was made sensible of it, and promised to rectify it: which however, it is acknowledged, he never did. What hindered him? Dr. *Maclaine* and the *Letter-writer* say, he was prevented by death.

^k Supplement, p. 35.

But

But though we should let this pass upon us, it is certain *Girardin* was still living; and as Mr. *Beauvoir* took this for a high reflection on the Archbishop, he should never have rested till he had seen it rectified, especially as he knew the account was intended for the perusal of a very great man, supposed to be the Regent of *France*. Mr. *Beauvoir's* honour was concerned in it, as well as the Archbishop's. By some means or other, Mr. *Beauvoir* came to know, that the mistake was not rectified in *Du Pin's* life-time. Dr. *Girardin* was alive, and knew as much of the matter as *Du Pin*. Mr. *Beauvoir* therefore should have instantly procured the rectification of the mistake from him; or, if *Du Pin's* account was out of his power, at least a solemn attestation from *Girardin*, that it *was* a mistake, and that himself and *Du Pin* were the first movers in the business.

But, after all, what was it that wanted to be rectified? why truly no great matter, as circumstances appear on the face of this account. It was only, first, that the Archbishop did not make the first overtures with respect to the *correspondence*, which I believe may be true. I can even go farther, and declare my belief that *Du Pin*, or some of his fellow-sufferers, *solicited* the *correspondence*. But then I believe that the correspondence they solicited, was *not* concerning the Union.

Union. It was, secondly, that the Archbishop was *not* the first who intimated his desire of the Union. This may be true too; for such a desire, it seems, was intimated at *Du Pin's* table. But that *Du Pin* solicited the Union, I will never believe; nor, to give him his due, does *Dr. Maclaine* believe it: for the only passage cited from *Du Pin*, by *Dr. Maclaine*, that has the least look that way, the Doctor allows to mean no more than, an *intimation* of his *desire* of an Union of the English and Gallican churches; and even that, I firmly believe, he would not have intimated, without some previous notice that it would be acceptable, and some hope of procuring by it, from the Archbishop, the information he wanted.

My reasons for this belief are grounded upon the contents of a Letter from *Dr. Wilkins*, the Archbishop's chaplain, to a particular friend who is not named; an extract of which, so far as relates to this affair, is here exhibited, and is as follows :

“ *My dear Friend, Lambeth House, Dec. 4, 1718.*

“ — The transactions in *Paris* against the Pope's
 “ Constitution have from time to time been trans-
 “ mitted to his Grace, sometimes before they
 “ were put in execution, sometimes immediately
 “ after; and, if you will conceal from whence
 “ you have it, I can tell you particulars of it.
 “ The

“ The *Sorbonne*, by private order from Cardinal
 “ *Noailles*, has constantly sent my Lord all their
 “ speeches and treaties printed upon their dif-
 “ ferences with the Court of *Rome*, has made
 “ application to my Lord for a new scheme of eccle-
 “ siastical Government, as near the Church of
 “ England, as at present, without much noise and
 “ scandal they might do.

“ They have, and do still, send questions to
 “ my Lord, touching the very fundamental points
 “ of Popery. The Regent, like many great
 “ Princes, does not much care for any Profession
 “ of religion; but he hates the Jesuits, is no
 “ friend to the Pope, upon political accounts,
 “ and is willing to make the church of *France*
 “ (as well as the Kingdom is already) indepen-
 “ dent of any Monarch or Bishop. The Cardi-
 “ nal is timorous in his temper, fears the loss
 “ of his cap, and the great animosities of so
 “ many Bishops and Clergymen in *France*.

“ My Lord was so much consulted about the
 “ most minute articles of their proceedings, that
 “ he answered some time ago, *if they wrote to*
 “ *him as Dr. Wake, he was very willing to give*
 “ *his advice and counsel; but if they wrote to him*
 “ *as Archbishop of Canterbury, the dignity of his*
 “ *station and the honour of the church of Eng-*
 “ *land required, that the Archbishop of Paris*
 “ *should appear himself to my Lord, and not by his*
 “ friends

"*friends only*. But this has not at all discouraged them from going on; and mutual presents are exchanged.

"I expect not to be named in your discourse about this subject amongst your friends. Very few in this Island know of this overture. I am sure nobody in this house does, besides his Grace, and him to whom the unparalleled goodness of our Metropolitan is so kind as to communicate, and now and then to make the secretary.

"There are different sorts of accounts of this matter in print; but I have not leisure to read them. Sure I am, that they that would write a perfect History of these transactions, must come to *Lambeth* for instructions. If you have a fancy to read something of it these long winter evenings, I will enquire for the best account extant.

"I am, my dearest Friend, while I live,

"Your most obedient,

"and humble Servant,

"D^d WILKINS."

I cannot but look upon this letter as a key to this mysterious project of an Union with the Gallican church: I have not the least doubt about its being genuine; and could, if I were at liberty,

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appeal

appeal to the very respectable person by whom it was communicated.—The obvious observations upon it are these:

1. That there is not a word of an *Union* of the two churches from one end of it to the other. It appears indeed that the Correspondence was begun by the *Sorbonne* doctors, not with any view to an *Union*; but only by way of application to his Grace of *Canterbury*, for a *scheme of ecclesiastical Government*, for the use of the *Gallican church*, as near, indeed, the church of *England as at present they might go*; but it is, as near as they might go, *without much noise and scandal*.

2. Dr. *Wilkins* says, “ they still sent questions “ to his Grace touching the very fundamental “ points of popery,” that is to say, touching the Pope’s authority, how far what he claimed was consistent with the liberties of the *Gallican church*. This is explained in his Grace’s letter to Mr. *Beauvoir*, N° IX, bearing date but two days before this of Dr. *Wilkins*, wherein the Archbishop observes, “ that while they [the *Frenchmen*] manage as they do, with the court of *Rome*, nothing will be done, to any purpose. And all “ ends in trifling at the last. We,” continues his Grace, “ honestly deny the Pope all authority “ over us; they pretend in words to allow him “ so much as is consistent with what they call “ their

“ their *Gallican* privileges : But let him never so little use it, contrary to their good liking, they protest against it ; appeal to a general council, and then mind him as little as we can do.”

Very true ; but whatever power the Pope claimed which should be consistent with the liberties of the *Gallican* church, they were willing to allow him ; and that, the Archbishop might have been sensible, was enough to prevent their ever *uniting* with the Church of *England*, which would allow him *none*. The questions therefore sent, to the Archbishop, related only to the extent of the Pope's power with respect to their *Gallican* privileges, a point in which they might very justly think his Grace's great learning, and knowledge in ecclesiastical Antiquity, would afford them useful information. If the Archbishop chose to build more upon their *questions* than they intended, that could not be helped. His Grace, it seems however, by this time, found out that he had mistaken their meaning.

3. Dr. *Wilkins* mentions “ an *Overture* known to very few in this Island.” And it may be asked, what this overture was ? I answer, whatever it was, it was an *overture* of the Archbishop's. Most probably his Grace's overture of corresponding with the Cardinal Archbishop of *Paris*. In the Doctor's letter indeed, the only object of

this proposed correspondence, that appears, is, “ a consultation on the most minute articles of “ their proceedings,” i. e. of the proceedings of the *Sorbonnists*, in reference to the *Constitution*. But we see in the Archbishop’s remarkable letter of *August 30*, his object was the *Union*.

Some people may perhaps imagine from hence, that Dr. *Wilkins* was not let into the *whole* secret. And I think it likely enough that he was not. He says indeed, that he was now and then made the secretary ; but it was only *now and then*. For the Archbishop tells Mr. *Beauvoir*, in his letter of *November 6*, 1718, that “ he trusted no Am-
“ nienensis to copy for him, because he would not
“ be liable to be betrayed.” And again, in the letter of *December 2*, “ I am a little unhappy,
“ that I have none here that I yet dare trust
“ with what I do :” meaning in the business of the Union. But though it might not be proper to trust *Wilkins* with what *his Grace* did, there was no impropriety in trusting him with what *the others* did. It was only an application for counsel and advice in their affair with the Pope, which the Archbishop might freely give them without any blameable imputation, either as Dr. *Wake*, or Archbishop of *Canterbury*, so far as his Grace’s sensibility of his own *dignity* was not piqued. But whatever Dr. *Wilkins* did know, he certainly *did not* know that the *Sorbon-*
nists

nists applied to the Archbishop for any thing but a *scheme of ecclesiastical Government* for their own use, in case they should come to a farther breach with the Pope. And this indeed it was that seemed to me to furnish a clue to lead us out of the intricacy and obscurity of this Labyrinth, into the plains of truth and day-light.

The *Sorbonnists* having applied for this scheme of Church-government, his Grace, whose notions of Ecclesiastical authority were as high as was consistent with his profession of the Protestant religion, immediately saw, that the system which took his fancy, and which, he had persuaded himself, either was, or ought to be, that of the church of *England*, might very well suit the Anticonstitutionalists, and *probably* or *possibly*, some differences excepted, which might be settled by treaty, would content them. Full of this idea, he sends them his sketch of the church of *England*, in certain letters, which Dr. *Maclaine* doth not think proper to communicate; but apprehending his reader might form some suspicions from the suppression of them, not at all to the advantage of his Grace, He tells us, “These Letters, *however*, were written with a truly Protestant spirit; the Archbishop insisted in them upon the truth and orthodoxy of the Articles of the Church of *England*, and did not make any concession, which supposed the least approximation

“ mation to the peculiar doctrines, or the smallest
 “ approbation of the ambitious pretensions of
 “ the church of *Rome* ¹.”

Did not make any concession. That is not what we want to know yet-a-while ; but as these Letters were part of the more *close, serious, and interesting* correspondence, which commenced after *Girardin's* speech, we desire to be informed, for the present, whether there was nothing in them like an overture towards an Union ! no mention of a *preliminary article*, as the basis of a treaty for such Union ? without all doubt, there was, *Dr. Maclaine's* assurance that *he made no concession* implies it, and a little farther on, he tells us what this *preliminary article* was.

The Gallican Divines, perceiving that this *Union* was a favourite contemplation with his Grace, and that, without giving into it, they would reap no benefit from their *consulting him in the most minute articles of their proceedings*, thought proper to amuse him with an essay towards such Union, which I suppose was the *Com-munitorium*, drawn up by *Du Pin*.

What the contents of it were, or what the Archbishop thought of them, it is not yet time to consider. The present question is, how far the French Divines were in earnest in proposing it,

¹ Supplement, p. 27.

for unless they were cordial in pursuing the treaty, their *wishes* must pass for mere unmeaning compliments.

And here we have as full information from the *authentic copies* as we can desire. The *Sorbonnists* go on in such a way, that the Archbishop himself finds out, that it is all *pretence*^m, and *trifling*; that the *preliminary* will not be admitted, and that without it nothing could be done to any purposeⁿ. They paid not the least regard to his Grace's expectations of corresponding with the Cardinal Archbishop of *Paris*, which our Archbishop made the criterion of the said Cardinal's being in earnest for such an Union. The *Sorbonne* Doctors *went on* still to be the *only* correspondents of the English Metropolitan, who acquiesced, since no better would be, and condescended to exchange mutual presents with them. Can this be accounted for any way, but by the supposition of a vehement desire in the Archbishop to compass the Union at all events?

Du Pin was the person who drew up the *Com-munitorium*; and, from the character of him handed down to these times, he might be supposed to be as forward to promote the Union in question, as any one of his church. Yet, it seems, he acted so, as to give the Archbishop room to believe, that he thought the Church of *England*

^m No III.

ⁿ No IX.

was to take directions from him and his company, what to retain and what to give up °. In another place the Archbishop says, “Of your
 “two Doctors, Dr. *Piers* has the freer air, even
 “as to the business of a Union. Yet I do not
 “despair of *Du Pin* p.”

And yet this Dr. *Piers* is the very man of whom Dr. *Maclaine* says, that, “in that speech
 “which rendered the correspondence on the subject of the Union *more close, serious, and interesting*, and even brought on some particular
 “mention of preliminary terms, and certain pre-
 “paratives for a future negotiation, he discovered rather a desire of making profelytes,
 “than an inclination to form a coalition founded
 “upon concessions, and some reformation on the
 “side of Popery.”

I rest the cause just here; and think I might almost venture to leave it to Dr. *Maclaine* himself, whether, as *Du Pin* was *less free* in the business of the Union than this Dr. *Piers de Girardin*, it is in the least degree probable, that the said *Du Pin* should *solicit* this Union, as Mr. *Beauvoir* would have had it believed, or that he should be the first who *who formed the project* of it.

° Authentic Copies, N° III.

p Ibid. N° VII.

II. The second question is, whether Archbishop *Wake* never made any concessions, nor offered to give up, for the sake of peace, any one point of the established doctrine and discipline of the church of England, in order to promote this Union.

We have seen that Archbishop *Wake* was extremely fond of this Union; that he sought to bring it about, and was visibly chagrined by the circumstances that retarded it. In his letter of August 30, 1718, he did not think it proper to go any further with the *Sorbonne* Doctors, lest it should expose him to censure; and one would imagine, that unless the Cardinal would correspond with him, he would absolutely treat no farther with these inferiors.

But in his next Letter that appears in the collection, viz. of October the 8, 1718, all these difficulties and scruples are vanished; and it becomes necessary to correspond with the *Sorbonne* Doctors about matters of religion, whatever be the consequence.

This was not all; when his Grace's Letters had been shewn to some of the French ministry, and made public enough to raise a clamour against Cardinal *Noailles* for being concerned in such a negotiation, when he knew the *Abbe du Bois* was disaffected to the Union, and that without the concurrence of the French Ministry nothing would

be done, when he was even apprehensive that his letters would be printed, and that he should have censures enough for them; even when his Grace knew all this, he could not quit his *reveries* about this same *Union*, and is still for continuing a correspondence with some of their great men, under certain cautions and provisos, that his Letters should not be exposed; and all this, down to *Feb. 9, 1719-20*^a.

Would it not be strange to find his Grace carrying on his endeavours for an *Union* to these lengths, and yet never disposed to make any concessions on his part, while matters were in a more hopeful way?

Let us then enquire what the truth really was. The Archbishop had proposed, as a preliminary article, "the removal of the *Gallican* church "from the jurisdiction of *Rome*." But finding, by *Du Pin's* *Commonitorium*, that a canonical jurisdiction, in consequence of his Primacy, must still be allowed to the Pope upon the plan of the *Sorbonnists*, his Grace *mollifies* a little upon this article, and seems inclined to compound the matter with them, by "leaving the Pope only "a Primacy of *place* and *honour*, and that merely "by *ecclesiastical authority*, as he was once Bishop "of the Imperial city^r."

^a Authentic Copies, N^o VII. XII. XIII. XIV. XVI.

^r Ibid. N^o IV.

Only a Primacy! and *merely* by ecclesiastical authority! And was this nothing? was it no concession on the part of the church of *England*, to allow the Pope to be her titular Primate? would it make no awkward impresson upon her members? and did his Grace sufficiently consider the *extent* of that *ecclesiastical authority* which was required to establish a *Primate* over the *universal Church*?

It is true, his Grace, in his Letters to *Du Pin* and *Girardin*, limits this Primacy in such a manner, as, in his own opinion, to reduce it to a mere empty title. But he still allows it *ecclesiastical authority* for its foundation, in his letter to Mr. *Beauvoir*; and that would presently carry it all the lengths of *Canonical jurisdiction*, which the *Sorbonnists* were willing to attach to it.

The orthodox *Letter-writer* treats this matter *en bagatelle*, “ unless, says he, you call this a “ *concession* ^s.” Whence one may very reasonably conclude, he is one of those *moderate* Church-of-England-men, who, according to *Du Pin*, do not deny the Pope’s Primacy. Dr. *Maclaine*, with more truth and judgement, calls them *immoderate*, which makes it the more surprising that he should not take notice of this blemish in Archbishop *Wake*’s Protestancy, especially as he represents

^s First Letter, p. 83.

it, not as a concession *after* his Grace had seen the *Commonitorium*, but as a *sweetner* of his own harsh preliminary term, *viz.* The *abolition* of the Pope's jurisdiction over the *Gallican Church*, which his Grace had laid down as the *basis* of the treaty (apparently without any such qualification) *before* he had seen the *Commonitorium*. Infomuch that, instead of covering the Archbishop's foible by this little piece of art, the Doctor leaves the reader to conclude, that "a Primacy of order, due to the Pope, not only from the prerogative of *presiding in the imperial city*, but by *ecclesiastical authority*," must have been an original tenet of the Archbishop's, and not merely a pacific accommodation of his sentiments to the plan of the *Commonitorium* ^t.

^t See *Supplement*, p. 32; and compare p. 27. I think it not an inequitable inference from some things dropped in his Grace's writings, that his Grace was persuaded, that Episcopal Jurisdiction is of *divine right*; and that I suppose may be what he means by *Ecclesiastical Authority*. "And," says an eminent and judicious writer, "let the imagination be well heated with the beauty and expediency of ranks, degrees, and orders in the church, and we shall find it not so difficult as some may imagine, for weak people to advance in their conceits from *Prelates* to *Primates*, and thence to *Patriarchs*. King *James I.* had, or pretended to have, a zeal for the divine right of episcopal jurisdiction; but he could not stop there: his principles carried him up to the spiritual supremacy of the Pope, to whom he declares himself willing to submit as *Patriarch of the West*; and *primus Episcopus inter omnes Episcopos et princeps Episcoporum*, even, says his Majesty, as *Peter* was *Princeps Apostolorum*." Examination of

That the Archbishop meant, that the united churches should *in common* acknowledge the Pope's Primacy, appears from the following passage : " As to the Pope's authority, I take " the difference to be only this, that *we may* " *all agree (without troubling ourselves with* " *the reason)* to allow him a primacy of order " in the Episcopal College ; they would have it " thought *necessary* to hold communion with " him, and allow him a little canonical authority over them, as long as he will leave them " to prescribe the bounds of it. We fairly say, " we know of no authority he has in our realm ; " but for actual submission to him, they as little " mind it as we do ^u."

This proposal is evidently calculated to accommodate the *Sorbonnists*, with an expedient relative to their opinion of our XXXVIIth Article of Religion. His Grace had before given a reason why the Pope should have the Primacy allowed him. That reason would not do for the *Sorbonnists*. His Grace therefore proposes to allow the Primacy *simply*, and to leave the reason *in medio*, which is going one considerable step farther in the concession, as it leaves a door open for those who at that time *knew of no au-*

the Scheme of Church Power laid down in Bishop *Gibson's* Codex, p. 22, 23, where King *James's* Premonition to the Apology for the Oath of Allegiance, edit. 1609. p. 46. is cited.

^u Authentic Copies, N^o X.

thority

thority the Pope had in this realm, to be better informed in due season, and to be taught, that the Primacy being admitted, the authority followed of course, as *no reason* appeared why it should not.

Let us now proceed to examine whether there are not some other hopeful approaches towards the *Gallicans*, which may justly be called *concessions*:

“There is nothing,” says the Archbishop, “in our Liturgy, but what they allow of, save the single Rubric relating to the Eucharist *.”

In that Rubric it is declared, that by kneeling at the communion, “no adoration is intended or ought to be done, either unto the sacramental bread or wine, there bodily received, or unto any corporal presence of Christ’s natural flesh and blood. For the sacramental bread and wine remain still in their very natural substances, and therefore may not be adored (for that were IDOLATRY to be abhorred of all faithful Christians). And the natural body and blood of our Saviour Christ are in heaven, and not here; it being against the truth of Christ’s natural body, to be at one time in more places than one.”

Du Pin, in adapting the XXVIIIth Article of religion to his scheme of Union, will have

* Authentic Copies, N^o VIII.

it, "that the bread and wine are really changed
 "into the body and blood of Christ y." The
 consequence of which would be, that to adore
 the sacrament on the knees is no idolatry.

Now it is plain, that without some concession
 on the one side or the other, there could be no
 Union with respect to this article. It does not
 appear that the *Frenchmen* made, or were in-
 clined to make, any. And whether what fol-
 lows is not a *concession* on the part of the Arch-
 bishop, let any indifferent person judge :

" Would they purge out of their [offices]
 " what is contrary to our [principles], we might
 " join in the public service with them, and yet
 " leave one another in the free liberty of be-
 " lieving *Transubstantiation* or not, so long as we
 " did not require any thing to be done by either
 " in pursuance of that opinion. The *Luthe-*
 " *rans* do this very thing ; many of them com-
 " municate, not only in prayers, but the com-
 " munion, with us ; and we never enquire whe-
 " ther they believe *Consubstantiation*, or even
 " pay any worship to Christ as present with the
 " elements, so long as their outward actions are
 " the same with our own, and they give no of-
 " fence to any with their opinions ^z."

y Supplement, p. 29.

z Authentic Copies, N^o XII. p. 52.

This is his Grace's compromise, replete, as it should seem to me, with a sufficient quantity of concessions.

1. It is conceded, that the obnoxious Rubric might be taken away, or at least considered as unworthy of any regard; the admission of persons who believe *Transubstantiation*, to communicate with those who do not believe it, being a plain *concession*, that the adoration of the Elements is *not* idolatry.

2. It is conceded, that the minister who *consecrates* the elements may, with respect to certain partakers, have a power to *transubstantiate* them. They who believe *transubstantiation* would not communicate but under that persuasion. If you disabuse them, they will not communicate. If you do not, you admit that they form a right notion of the power of the officiating minister.

3. It is conceded, that they who do not believe *transubstantiation*, and who consequently communicate according to the pure uncorrupted institution of Christ, may communicate with *Idolaters*. For whether the Rubric remains or not, the disbelievers of *transubstantiation* are firmly persuaded, that no change happens to the bread and wine by any words pronounced over them, and, consequently, that all who adore them must be *Idolaters*. And whether the Christian Scrip-
tures

tures permit the abhorrrers of idols to have fellowship, in the same act of worship, with Idolaters, is a question, which his Grace was, no doubt, very capable of answering.

For my part, I do not believe, that when the author of *The Confessional* concluded, from the passage of *Mosheim*, as exhibited by Dr. *Mac-laine*, that Archbishop *Wake*, in encouraging such a treaty, *must have made concessions in favour of the grossest Superstition and Idolatry*, he expected to meet with so striking an instance of it as this.

As to what is said of the *Lutherans*, supposing the matter of fact to have been as the Archbishop represents it, the case of the *Lutheran* is widely different from that of the Papist. *Luther*, it is true, at the beginning of his Reformation, left it free for Christians to adore the elements in the sacrament, or not, according as they were or were not persuaded of the *real presence* ^a. He adds, however, that supposing the *real presence* of Christ in the sacrament (which indeed was his own opinion), Christ was not there *present* for the purpose of being adored.

At length, in the year 1544, he abolished the elevation of the Host, at the instance of the

^a *Hespinian*. Hist. Sacrament. part ii. p. 19.

Landgrave of *Hesse* (according to *Hospinian*) as productive of an idolatrous adoration ^b.

Some time before this, *Melancthon* had declared against any adoration in the sacrament, but particularly against the *αἰολαλῆαι* as he called it ^c. And it was so well understood among the Papists, in the year 1545, that the *Lutherans* had rejected the adoration of the sacrament, that *Teutlebius*, Bishop of *Hildersheim*, compared them, upon that account, to *Michal* the daughter of *Saul*, who derided *David* for dancing before the Ark ^d.

There was indeed much perplexity in the several opinions which were advanced in those days among the *Lutheran* Doctors, concerning the terms, *inclusion*, *affixion*, *ferrumination*, &c. made use of to account for what they called the *consubstantiation* : and it must be owned, that, the real presence being once admitted, they were

^b Ibid. p. 328, 329.

^c Sacramenta pacta sunt, ut rebus sumptis adfit aliud. Hoc cum ita sit, τὴν προσκυνῆσιν addi non oportuit : aut si additur, non est referenda πρὸς τὸν αἶον. *Hosp. Hist. Sacr. part. ii. p. 296.*

^d Adorationem sacramenti, etiam cum circumgestatur, exigit, eadem Patriâ quæ Christo præstanda esset. *Lutheranus*, qui id recusant, cum *Micol* filiâ Saulis comparat, *Davidem* ante Arcam saltantem, deridente. *Seckendorf. lib. iii. p. 551.*

put to all their shifts to keep clear of *adoration* in the most obnoxious sense ^e.

Some of the modern *Lutheran* Doctors may possibly have talked in the same strain, and these may have had their disciples. There is some reason, however, to believe, that few of them have held the necessity of *adoration* of the *consubstantiated* elements, or indeed have practised it in any degree ^f. But as I have had no oppor-

^e De adoratione sacramenti, invitum se loqui dicit, ob immodestam hac de re disputationem; sequi se tamen profiteretur *Lutherum*. Rejicit errorem *Helvetiorum*, qui præsentiam realem credere nolint; deinde inter *adorationem internam* seu *spiritualem* et *externam* distinguit, et de hac sacramento exhibendâ præceptum divinum extare negat, cum tamen hæc fere sola, absque internâ, in Papatu usurpata sit. Ubi vero *interna* adfit, *externam* quoque decenti ritu et modo secuturam esse non dubitat; — improbat autem penitus, si reverentia illa ad panem aut vinum referatur, quæ soli Christo, quem invisibiliter, sed vere præsentem esse credimus, debetur. — Circa *ritum* adorationis sive venerationis, genuflexionem, ut necessariam, non exigit, suadet tamen. *Seckendorf*. l. iii. p. 503. who gives us this passage from a sermon of *George Prince of Anhalt*, delivered to his domestics in 1544. I much question whether, if the doctrine of this illustrious preacher had been established as an *article of religion*, Divines of the Church of *England* might not have been found, at some periods, ready to subscribe to it, *ex animo*.

^f In the year 1539 a forged writing was transmitted to *England*, in the name of the *German* Protestants, pretending that they were wavering with respect to many points of Popery, with a view, as was supposed, of facilitating the passing of *K. Henry the Eighth's Six Articles*, then in agitation. Among

tunity of consulting the modern *Lutheran* writers on this article of their system, I can only suppose, that none of them have carried this matter farther than *Melancthon* and the Prince of *Anhalt*, above-cited, have done: and if there

other things it was alledged, that the *Lutherans* held the *real presence*, nearly upon the same grounds that the *Papists* did. Upon which *Seckendorf* remarks, *Addere debuissent rejectum esse ab Evangelicis dogma Transubstantiationis, cum omni sequela, inclusionis, circumgestationis, et ADORATIONIS sacramenti.* Hist. Lutheranismi, lib. iii. p. 229. Whence one may conclude, that the *adoration* of the Sacrament was no doctrine or practice in the *Lutheran Church* in *Seckendorf's* time. — *MOSHEIM*, in that chapter of his *Ecclesiastical History* which contains an account of the *Lutheran Church*, mentions no particular opinions of any *Lutheran Doctors*, or of any class of them, on the subject of the Adoration of the Sacrament, or of any difference among them on that head, though something of that kind was hardly avoidable, and might perhaps be found in the dispute between the Divines of *Tubingen* and *Gießen*, particularly concerning the *omnipresence of the flesh of Christ*, &c. Hist. Eccles. p. 837, 838. edit. 1764. However, that *adoration due to the Sacramental Elements*, was no dogma of *Mosheim* himself, appears by what he says, p. 475, *Panem in S. Coenae celebratione consecratum, divinis honoribus, dogmate Transubstantiationis ornati, nemo mirabitur.* Which Dr. *MacLaine* translates thus: “It will not appear surprizing that the bread consecrated in the sacrament of the Lord’s supper, became the “object of *religious worship*; for this was the natural consequence of the monstrous doctrine of *Transubstantiation*,” vol. I. p. 692. This, I think, is sufficient to acquit the *Lutheran Doctors* contemporary with *Mosheim*, from all suspicion of allowing any *religious worship* to be due to the bread in the Eucharist, even as a consequence of the doctrine of *Consubstantiation*.

should

should be such, I apprehend their disciples would hardly communicate with the Church of *England*.

But let us suppose that some *Lutherans*, persuaded that the elements ought to be adored by *genuflexion*, and ignorant of the terms of the Rubric abovementioned, should have communicated with the Church of *England*, it must certainly have been on the supposition, that the tenets of that church were the same with their own, a supposition in which they would have *some* encouragement to persist, not only by observing the posture of the communicants, but by hearing some expressions in the public service, not altogether abhorrent of the doctrine of the *real presence*. Not to mention, that though they should be aware of the Rubric, they might be recommended to certain Doctors, *nominally* of the Church of *England*, from whose writings they would be apt to gather, that the Rubric was *Protestatio contra factum*. And is it *honourable*, is it *equitable* to the Church of *England*, to leave such people (as Dr. *Wake* is inclined to do) under such mistakes? is it not plainly sacrificing *truth* to *peace*?

Let us proceed in our inquiry after concessions. In the Latin Letter of Archbishop *Wake*, dated May 1, 1719, (of which, by the way, we have only an *Extract*) to Dr. *Du Pin*, that did not

arrive till after the Doctor's death, the following passage occurs :

In dogmatibus, prout a te candide proponuntur, non admodum dissentimus : in regimine ecclesiastico, minus : in FUNDAMENTALIBUS, sive doctrinam, sive disciplinam spectemus, NON OMNINO.

By turning back to Dr. Maclaine's account of *Du Pin's* Commonitorium, we find the following *candid proposition* at the very head of the rest :

That, to the sufficiency of scripture, as containing (according to our Sixth Article) *all things necessary to salvation*, we must add *Tradition*, as an authentic, if not the *sole* interpreter of scripture, with respect to articles of faith ; for that is really the meaning of these (not *illustrating*, as Dr. Maclaine has it, but) *explicatory* and *confirming* traditions, placed about the scriptures, as *new guards*, against (not *gainsayers*, as Dr. Maclaine turns the words, but) *aliter sapientes* ; that is to say, against all who shall presume to think differently from these *cautionary* traditions ^h. And that this is *Du Pin's* meaning, appears evidently from what he is represented to say upon Article XXI, viz. " That every private man has not a right to reject what he " thinks contrary to scripture ⁱ."

^g Authentic Copies, N^o XV.

^h Supplement, p. 28.

ⁱ Ibid. p. 29.

This *fundamental*, in which Dr. *Wake* must be supposed to have agreed with *Du Pin*, being thus laid down, it would be cruel, *greatly to dissent* from those *dogmata* which depen dupon these *Traditions*.

Among these are *Supererogation*, *Infallibility*, *Purgatory*, *Indulgences*, *Image-worship*, *Saint-worship*, *Transubstantiation*, *A Septenary of Sacraments*, &c. concerning several of which, *Du Pin* is very *candidly* content you shall take away the *name*, provided you will leave the *thing*.

I hope I am not mistaken in calling the Sixth Article of the Church of *England*, one of her *fundamentals* ^k. I am not quite so clear in what follows.

^k I should have no manner of scruple on this head, if the reverend and learned Dr. THOMAS BALGUY, in a late Sermon, had not said, that "Men consult Scripture for what is "not to be found in it; an accurate description of their rights "and duties:" that is to say, of their *religious* rights and duties, for the Doctor immediately distinguishes this kind of *delusion*, from that of going to Scripture to ascertain the particulars of their *civil* obligations, p. 4. A little after which, he tells us, "It might well have been expected, that the "members of the ENGLISH Church should have seen farther, "and judged better: because this church, even from its "foundation, has been carefully *instructed* in these very points, "by some of its ablest defenders," p. 4. This, I presume, is meant of the *nonage* of the church, otherwise it is but an odd circumstance in her case, that she should want *instruction*

“He [*Du Pin*] is less inclined to concessions
“on the XXXIst Article, and maintains, that

and *defence* at one and the same time, and that these very different provinces should be delegated to the same men. It is said, however, somewhere, on the part of this *English Church*, that “*it is not lawful for her to ordain ANY THING which is “contrary to GOD’S WORD.*” Whether this was advanced by any of these *double-capacity*-men in the character of *Instructors* or *Defenders*, one cannot be positive. I am apt to think it might be in the guise of *instructors*; for, if I am not mistaken, some of those who have appeared in the quality of her *defenders* have, by the benefit of *implication* and *distinction*, frittered the plain meaning of this instruction quite away. Be that as it may, it stands at present as part of the *English church’s public institution*; and the question with me is, how we shall judge of the church’s *lawful right* to ordain certain things, without consulting Scripture for an *accurate description* of what is, or is not, contrary to the Word of GOD? I own, I have some curiosity to know what Dr. *Rutherford* would say to all this, who hath derived the authority he ascribes to church-governors in general, from *an appointment under Christ*, and appeals for particulars to *Paul’s instructions to Timothy and Titus*. For if, according to Dr. *Balguy*, the Scripture does not *teach*, but only *supposes* the knowledge of a *right* to impose subscription to human articles of religion, the Professor hath puzzled himself to no purpose to find in the sacred writings, either the articles, or the mode of subscription, prescribed by St. *Paul* to *Timothy* and *Titus*. I am no less concerned for my friend the *Letter-writer*, who is for erecting his system of church-authority, after *Grotius* and *Casaubon*, on the basis of *Antiquity*; for equally peremptory is Dr. *Balguy*, that the knowledge of *Antiquity* will contribute nothing towards resolving the variety of *doubts* and *questions* that arise on the subject of *church-authority* from the *bare words* of Scripture.

“the

“the sacrifice of Christ is not only *commemorate*, but *continued* in the eucharist, and “that every communicant offers him with the “priest¹.”

It seems to be necessary to ascertain the denomination under which this candid proposition falls, before we go any farther.

“*Du Pin*,” says Dr. *Maclaine*, “reduces the “controversy between the two churches to “three heads, *viz. Articles of Faith,—Rules “and ceremonies of Ecclesiastical Discipline — “and Moral Doctrine*, or rules of practice; and “these he treats, by entering into an examination of the XXXIX Articles of the Church of “*England* ^m.”

Now, I apprehend, the proposition concerning the *continuation* of the sacrifice of Christ in the Eucharist cannot be said to belong to either of the two latter heads, and must consequently, in *Du Pin's* estimation, fall under the *first*, as an *Article of Faith*.

Dr. *Wake*, in the Latin passage cited from him above, distributes the points in controversy between the two churches, into *Dogmata*, *Regi-*

Seriously, it is a lamentable case, that these venerable old posture-masters should be so degraded at a time of life when it must be supposed their joints are grown too stiff to ply to the contortions of this new exercise.

¹ Supplement, p. 30.

^m Ibid. p. 28.

men Ecclesiasticum, and Fundamentalia, sive doctrinæ, sive disciplinæ.

Perhaps it would be too hard upon his Grace to suppose that he classed the XXXIst Article under the head of *Fundamentals*, for then he must be understood to have given it up to *Du Pin* without more ado. With the Archbishop's second head it hath nothing to do. It remains that we suppose him to have considered this as one of the *dogmata*, concerning which there was *some little difference* between his Grace and his correspondent.

The word *Δογμα* in scripture, and in the most approved Greek authors, generally signifies a *Decree*, or a *Law*, enacted by public authority. In this light, perhaps, the Archbishop considered this XXXIst Article. And in this light one may consider the Decrees of *Trent*, which *Du Pin* follows in holding the *continuation* of the sacrifice of Christ in the Eucharist.

Protestants, in general, have thought the doctrine of this XXXIst Article to be so expressly contained in scripture, and the contrary dogma of the Papists so fraught with gross absurdities, and even impieties, that it can give no one pleasure but a zealous Papist, to find an Archbishop of *Canterbury*, *not much differing* from the Council of *Trent* on this head. It may be alledged, that it does not appear his Grace ever came
thoroughly

thoroughly into it, and only *charitably* made room for it, among other *concessions*, depending upon *Transubstantiation*, above-mentioned: and even so, for me, it may pass with the rest.

What concessions his Grace made with respect to *Ecclesiastical Government*, in allowing the Pope a *Primacy of order*, or of *Place* and *Honour*, *without troubling himself about the reasons of it*, hath been noticed above. And in *Fundamentals*, no concessions were wanted on either side. In these, both the parties were perfectly agreed.

When I first saw this *full agreement* in *fundamentals*, between an Archbishop of *Canterbury*, as Representative of the Protestant-Church of *England*, and Dr. *Du Pin*, as factor for the *Poish-Gallican* Church, I could not but a little regret, that the defence of Dr. *Wake* should be allotted to the learned Translator of Chancellor *Mosheim's* *Ecclesiastical History*.

We read in this History, that *George Calixtus*, an eminent *Lutheran* Divine, had some kind of *Pacification* in his head, with respect to the *Romanists*, the *Lutherans*, and the *Calvinists*, to which *Calixtus's* adversaries gave the technical name of *Syncretism*.

Mosheim says, in a note, that "they who took this for a project of union with the Pope and his church, were much mistaken, and judged rashly,

“ rashly, for that *Calixtus* publicly declared, “ that with the Church of *Rome*, such as it then “ was, no concord or society could be entered “ into ; and that whatever hope there might be “ once of such agreement, it was all extin- “ guished by the thunderbolts of the Council of “ *Trent*.” The Historian, however, blames *Calixtus* for several things in his writings, and particularly for teaching, that, “ *concerning the “ Foundation of Faith, there was no dissension “ between the Papists and the Lutherans.*” And he wishes he had either wholly omitted this, or had expressed it in more proper and agreeable terms. “ *Calixtus*, indeed,” he observes, “ con- “ stantly held, that many things were laid upon “ this foundation of religion, by the Papists and “ their adherents, which no good and wise man “ would embrace. And how much,” says he, “ this abates the *invidiousness* and *turpitude* of “ this opinion, is manifest ⁿ.”

ⁿ Dicitur vulgo pacem cum Romano Pontifice et ejus familia suasisse temere prorsus. Publice enim professus est, cum Ecclesiâ Romanâ, qualis nunc est nullam a nobis concordiam et societatem iniri posse, et si quæ olim spes extitit discidii fanandi, eam omnem Tridentini concilii fulminibus extinctam et deletam esse. — Docuit quidem, *de fundamento fidei nos inter et Pontificios, nihil esse dissensionis* : atque utinam hoc aut prorsus omisisset, aut verbis magis aptis et opportunis expressisset ! At idem tamen constantissime sensit, fundamento religionis a Pontificibus et eorum sectatoribus, plurima esse imposita, quæ nemo bonus et sapiens receperit. Quod quantum de illius

Two things here are more especially observable :

1. *Mosheim* thought it necessary to acquit *Calixtus* of the charge of attempting an union with the Church of *Rome*, by shewing, that *Calixtus* thought such Union impracticable. He thought it a scandal to *Calixtus* to have such a project imputed to him. This may be gathered from what follows. For,

2. He severely censures *Calixtus* for saying, that there was “no dissension between the *Lutherans* and Papists, as to the foundation of “faith.” He thinks it an *invidious* and *shameful* opinion : and though he would have it thought (to save the credit of *Calixtus* as much as the case would bear) that this opinion was considerably qualified by what *Calixtus* had said elsewhere, yet that was but a *qualification*, which did not totally discharge the *invidiousness* and the *turpitude* from the obnoxious opinion.

opinionis *invidiâ* et *turpitudine* detrahat, manifestum est. — Quid igitur, dices, sibi voluit? Primum illud; si fieri posset, ut ad eum statum revocaretur Ecclesia *Romana*, in quo prioribus quinque rei Christianæ sæculis fuit, nihil habituros amplius cur communitatem ejus repudient Protestantes. Deinde hoc; ex hodiernis etiam Pontificis Romani asseclis — illos æternæ salutis spe privandos haud esse, nec pro hæreticis habendos, qui bona fide tenent, quæ a parentibus et magistris tradita acceperunt — modo ea simpliciter credant, quæ Symbolo Apostolorum continentur, et ad Jesu Christi præcepta vitam conformare studeant. *Hist. Eccles.* p. 828, 829.

Dr. *Maclaine* hath translated this whole note (with what *accuracy* I shall not say) without finding the least fault with *Mosheim*, whom, to do justice to the Doctor's *impartiality*, he does not spare when he thinks him in the wrong. I have looked into the *Supplement*, and cannot find any correction of this note, so that, I conclude, the Doctor thought there was nothing blame-worthy either in *Mosheim's* defence or reprehension of *Calixtus*.

Is it not then surprising, that the same learned person should undertake the defence of Dr. *Wake*, who was much more faulty than *Calixtus* in both these respects? Dr. *Wake* actually promoted an Union with the Popish *Gallican* Church, without being at all discouraged with the thunderings of *Trent*, or thinking an Union impracticable on that account. You will say, perhaps, that the Archbishop treated with a man who *proposed* the *dogmata* of the Church of *Rome* with *candor* and *moderation*. Be that as it may, it was with a man who abode by the most obnoxious of them; and whether *Du Pin* regarded the fulminations of *Trent* or no, these are the *dogmata* of *Trent*, and from these, Dr. *Wake* says, he doth not greatly dissent.

Dr. *Wake* roundly asserts, that he doth not at all differ from *Du Pin*, on the head of *fundamentals*. But *Du Pin's* fundamentals were the
funda•

fundamentals of the Church of *Rome*; and, I think, there is little reason to doubt but that *Calixtus* took his account of fundamentals from as candid and moderate Romanists as *Du Pin*. And yet we find not that Dr. *Wake's* agreement with *Du Pin* is at all qualified with any such draw-back, as was thought by *Mosheim* to diminish the turpitude of *Calixtus's* opinion. How should it indeed, when Dr. *Wake* extends his agreement with *Du Pin* to fundamentals of discipline as well as of doctrine °?

Dr. *MacLaine* touches upon the intrepidity of the author of *The Confessional*; if he meant it by way of compliment, that author hath here an opportunity of returning it with interest.

It hath been observed, that foreigners are often apt to incur grievous mistakes when they write about the affairs of *Great Britain*. I am persuaded, Dr. *MacLaine* would not have undertaken the defence of Archbishop *Wake* in this

° Dr. *MacLaine* hath turned *Mosheim's* words, *invidia* and *turpitudine*, by the less criminous term, *extravagance*. It is indeed of no great consequence to an *English* reader to know so very exactly what *Mosheim* thought of *Calixtus's* opinion; but it is nevertheless of some consequence in the present case, particularly to those who think that the model of the *Lutheran* church is much nearer that of the church of *Rome*, than the model of the church of *England*; a circumstance by no means favourable to our Archbishop, if, upon the comparison, it so turns out.

transaction

transaction concerning an Union with the *Gallican* Church, had he known the Archbishop's sentiments upon some particular points^p, of which, they from whom he had this information concerning the project of Union would not be the most forward to apprise him. He bespeaks indeed our expectations of his *impartiality*, "from his situation in life, which has
" placed him at a distance from the scenes of

^p Archbishop *Wake*, in his controversy with *Bossuet*, made a remarkable concession, by which, however, I believe, not one in ten of those on whose behalf he made it are disposed to abide. The Archbishop, it seems, did not scruple to declare, that, *as to the honours due to the genuine reliicks of the Martyrs or Apostles, no Protestant would ever refuse whatever the primitive churches paid to them.* The practice of these primitive churches in this article, to which *no Protestant would refuse to conform*, is brought down by a certain Divine, much such a Protestant as the Archbishop, so low as the year 350. — *Jesuit Cabal farther opened*, p. 29, 30. Luckily for the Protestant cause, this concession fell under the notice of the learned and ingenious Dr. *Middleton*, who, having given an account of the practice within the period named, goes on thus: "After this
" view of the practice, if we should beg our Archdeacon to
" inform us a little more precisely, what part a Protestant
" ought to act in this case; whether, with the first Christians
" in the days of the Apostles, he ought to observe a perfect
" indifference or neutrality about them, neither honouring them
" nor insulting them; or, with the first Christians after the
" Apostles, gather them up with a religious care, wrap them
" up in silk or fine linen, deposit them in sacred places, treat them
" as the most precious jewels, and inestimable treasures of the
" Christian church, he would stick, I dare say, to his text,"
&c. *Remarks on the Jesuit Cabal*, p. 122.

" religious

“religious and ecclesiastical contention in *England*, and cut him off from those *personal connexions* that nourish the prejudices of party-spirit more than many are aware of;” and he tells us, “impartiality would be still more expected from his principles, were they known^q.”

Of Dr. *MacLaine's* principles I pretend not to form any precarious conjectures; or to make any other judgement of them than such as is fairly suggested by what he exhibits in his notes and appendixes, subjoined to his translation of *Mosheim's* History. But I must own, the intimation of his being cut off from *personal connexions* in this country would have had more weight with me, if the patronage of an eminent *English* Prelate had not been announced so early as in the first page of his Preface; and if there had not been the same topics, authorities, reasonings, and deductions, with respect to the defence of Archbishop *Wake*, in his *third* Appendix, that are made use of by the *Letter-writer* so lately dismissed, on the same subject. And if we may not judge of his principles by the common rule of *noscitur ex sociis*, he cannot do himself more credit with the friends of Christian liberty, and Christian simplicity, than to *make it known* that his agreement with these Gentlemen is only *occasional* and *temporary*, when and where

^q *Supplement*, p. 22.

his own *defence* and his own *estimation* make it necessary to adopt such parts of their several systems, as *pro hac vice* may be for his purpose.

It now appears, that he did not know that part of the *English* History relating to these transactions of Dr. Wake with the *French* Divines of the *Sorbonne*, so well as Mosheim did. Dr. Maclaine did not know *English* anecdotes so well, in other instances^r. And though the au-

^r Mosheim had said that Martin Seidelius affirmed, CHRISTUM male pro Messia haberi: verum ejus munus interpretationis legis naturæ, culpa hominum vehementer obscuratæ, UNICE contineri. And he added in the end of the paragraph, si ea de mas quæ de Messia docuit, cetera multis inter Anglos, Batavos, aliosque populos hodie vehementer arident, p. 843. So far as this related to the *English*, it was sufficiently intelligible to *Englishmen*, and particularly to those who had read Bishop Warburton's just reprehensions of the writers who hold this opinion. Which made it very surprising, that Dr. Maclaine, in his note upon this passage, should be at a loss to know what Dr. Mosheim meant by this insinuation; and that he should suppose it to have been thrown out in a fit of ill-humour, vol. II. p. 472. By the time the learned translator had prepared his second edition, he had got better information, and perhaps (if one might venture to calculate probabilities) by his personal connexions in this *Island*. And therefore, if I might have advised him, he should have ordered the note in the first edition to be absolutely expunged; and not have corrected it by adding a *probable conjecture*, with respect to what he certainly knew to be the truth; and then putting his former reproof

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thor of *The Confessional*, when first he made his remarks on the passage of *Mosheim*, knew perhaps as little of that particular transaction as Dr. *MacLaine* did when he translated it, yet he certainly knew particulars of Archbishop *Wake's* character, which would keep him, and a great many more, from *staring*, upon their meeting with this account in *Mosheim*. Though the same persons may very possibly *stare* sufficiently to find the correspondence published in this *Supplement*, brought as a proof that Archbishop *Wake* neither formed the project of an Union with the *Gallican* Church, nor was at all disposed to make any concessions in order to bring it about.

By looking into *The Confessional*, Dr. *MacLaine* became acquainted with Archbishop *Wake's* opposition to the repeal of the *Schism Bill*. But instead of applying this information to the very natural purpose of accounting for that transaction with the *Gallican* Divines, which, as it was mentioned by *Mosheim*, had *surprised* and *perplexed* him, he unluckily applied to a learned and worthy clergyman of the Church of *England* (whose interest it happened to be to gloss over Archbishop *Wake's* principles and conduct,

to the account of *Mosheim's* "want of precision," which, whatever it might be in *other* instances, was assuredly not his failing in *this*. See Supplement, p. 78.

with the best possible varnish that could be had) for an explanation of this unlooked-for instance of his Grace's *Catholic* spirit.

If the writer of the *Three Letters* to the author of *The Confessional* had not concealed his name, we might have known who this worthy and learned clergyman was to whom Dr. Maclaine applied on this occasion ; for the very same account of Archbishop Wake's reasons for opposing the repeal of the *Schism Bill* that appears in the *Supplement*, p. 38, is given in the first of these three Letters, p. 87, and in the very same words, without the least intimation that the *Letter-writer* had *his* account at second hand.

Had Dr. Maclaine consulted almost any of our Historians, he would have found that a little before the Bill for repealing the Act for *preventing the Growth of Schism* was brought into the House of Lords, which was *December 13, 1718*, the Dissenters had resumed their consultations, how they might be relieved from the hardships laid upon them, not only by the *Occasional* and *Schism Bills*, but likewise by the *Sacramental Test* ^s.

These consultations, and the disposition of some principal persons among the clergy, as well as in the ministry, to afford them the relief they

^s See *Tindal's Continuation of Rapin*, 8vo, 1758, vol. VII. p. 243, 244.

solicited, could be no secrets to the Archbishop: and may serve for a comment on that passage with which he begins his Letter to Mr. *Beauvoir*, dated *October 8, 1718*. "Whatever," says his Grace, "be the consequence of our "corresponding with the *Sorbonne* Doctors about "matters of religion, THE PRESENT SITUATION "OF OUR AFFAIRS plainly seems TO MAKE IT "NECESSARY FOR US so to do †." Undoubtedly by way of providing a balance against the pernicious machinations of these schismatics and their abettors. I own, there is an air of mystery in the Archbishop's expressions; but what else can they mean? What *other* situation of our affairs at that time was it, that could require this correspondence with the Doctors of the *Sorbonne*, much less that could make it *necessary* for us. Had any thing else happened between *August 30* and *October 8*, to bring on this *necessity* all at once? can the *Letter-writer*, can Dr. *MacLaine*, clear up this matter to the public? if they can, is it for the credit of their cause to leave us in the dark? if they cannot, are they weak enough to suppose that men of sense will not make very interesting reflections on so remarkable a coincidence, that at the very time an Archbishop of *Canterbury* was endeavouring to exclude the Protestant Dissenters of his own

† *Authentic Copies*, N^o IV.

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country

country from the equitable privileges of *Englishmen* and Christians, which several, even of the Episcopal bench, desired to have secured to them, his Grace was carrying on a correspondence about matters of religion with certain Doctors of the *Sorbonne*, in order to an Union with the Popish *Gallican Church*?

The *Letter-writer*, to do him justice, never leaves matters short at a pinch. He undertakes to give Dr. *Maclaine* an account of the Archbishop's reasons for opposing the repeal of the *Schism Bill*, in doing of which, it seems to me that he hath imposed upon the Doctor, and hath caused him to retail a falsehood to the world, as he himself had done before. Observe, I say, *so it seems to me*. Let us hear him.

“ Archbishop *Wake's* objection to the repeal
“ of the Schism Act was founded on this con-
“ sideration *only*, that such a repeal was need-
“ less, as no use had been made, *or was likely*
“ *to be made*, of that Act.”

I have seen several accounts of Archbishop *Wake's* objections to this repeal, but from none of them could I ever learn that the Archbishop
“ said, *no use was likely to be made* of the Schism
“ Act. They all stop at that reason given by
the Archbishop, that “ no advantage *had been*
“ taken of it against the Dissenters, ever since
“ it had been made.”

It had been indeed most absurd for his Grace to have said no use was likely to be made of it for the future, when, according to the *Letter-writer*, "he had observed a sort of spirit in "the Dissenters and others, which made him "afraid, that from the repeal of the other act, (*viz.* "that against occasional conformity) considerable "damage might follow to the church over which "he presided". And in such a case, can it be supposed so vigilant a champion of the church would not have used the arms he had in his hands against the *damagers*?

The Archbishop of York (Sir William Dawes) seconded his brother of Canterbury; and his reason was, that "the Dissenters were never to be "gained by indulgence." Was it likely that no use would be made of an Act, which was endeavoured to be perpetuated for the purpose of gaining the Dissenters by *severity*?

Hence I conclude, that the words, *or was likely to be made*, are the interpolation of the *Letter-writer*, who is for securing to Archbishop Wake the character of *moderation*, at the expence of his *common sense*.

"It does not appear," says Dr. Maclaine, "that the Dissenters in *England* made to the "Archbishop any proposals relative to an Union "with the established church *."

* Supplement, p. 38.

* Ibid. p. 37.

It would have been marvelous if they had, when they knew him to be so zealously disposed to cut them off from the common rights of Protestants and of Christians.

“Or,” he goes on, “that he made any proposals to them on that head.”

No; he rather chose to negotiate with the Divines of the Popish *Gallican* Church. In excuse for this *shyness* of the Archbishop towards the Dissenters, Dr. *MacLaine* pleads the *violence* of some of the Dissenters of those times, and the *sort of spirit* they shewed, menacing the damage of the church ^v.

We desire, either that this *violence*, and this *damaging spirit* of the Dissenters of those times, may be proved upon them by particular facts, or that Dr. *MacLaine* will ingenuously confess (what is certainly the truth of the case) that he has been imposed upon by *vague* accusations, and *invidious* misrepresentations, communicated to him by such *worthy* and *learned* persons as the *Letter-writer* and company.

To balance this narrow and unfociable spirit of the Archbishop towards our domestic Dissenters, Dr. *MacLaine* mentions his Grace's “holding an extensive correspondence with the [and] Episcopal] Protestants abroad, and that of the *most friendly sort*.”

^v Supplement, p. 38.

What

What was all that to those who were hurt by his *unfriendliness* at home, where only he had the power to hurt any one? what was it to the foreign Protestants, whether he was *friendly* or *unfriendly* to them?

A great parade however is made at the end of this Supplement, with some extracts of the Archbishop's letters to foreign Divines, upon which several striking remarks might be made, if it was worth the while. *One* particular I cannot help remarking, as it seems to bear a little hard upon his Grace's *sincerity*.

The last words of the *Extracts* from one of his Letters to Professor *Turretin*, are these :

O quantum potuit insana φιλαυτία! Et in aliorum conscientias, quam omnes verbis rejicimus, plerique re exerere cupimus, dominandi libido! Benedictus Deus qui ALIUM PLERUMQUE, IN HOC NOSTRO ORBE ANIMUM INDIDERIT *!

This Letter bears date *December 1, 1718*, and could hardly have reached Professor *Turretin's* hands before this very Prelate, who *blesse*s God so devoutly, *that there was so little of the spirit of domineering over men's consciences in England*, did his utmost, in conjunction with such names as *Dawes, Atterbury, Gastrel, Smallridge, &c.* to

* Authentic Copies, N^o XXIV.

perpetuate a Law, *which tended to deprive Parents of the natural right of educating their own children.*—Parents, of the very same religious Profession with Dr. *Turretin* to whom he was writing this solemn thanksgiving!—Does not this *Benediction*, contrasted with his Grace's practice, put one in mind of our *Letter-writer's* devout ejaculations, interspersed so commodiously with his abuses of the author of *The Confessional*, all through his pamphlet.

But since Dr. *MacLaine* has brought us into the department of his Grace's Correspondence with foreign Protestant Divines, I hope he will give me leave to exhibit one more specimen of it, of which he hath not given us the least hint, though *probably*, or *possibly*, it may not have entirely escaped his researches.

We have seen above, that, according to Dr. *MacLaine's* learned and worthy Clergyman, *to wit*, the *Letter-writer*, it was not the spirit shewn by the Dissenters *only*, but by the Dissenters and OTHERS, that gave the good Archbishop his fears, that the church might be considerably damaged, in case the schism-bill should be repealed.

Now who were these *others*? evidently, members of the established church;—some of those *false brethren*, it is like, among whom poor *Sacheverel* had been *in perils* some few years before.

before. In one word, a set of honest and eminent Laymen and Divines, who, perfectly sensible to what an alarming Crisis the Divinity of the late reign had brought the Protestant succession, and with it the civil and religious liberties of this country, set themselves to open the eyes of the deluded people, and to give them juster sentiments of the Christian religion, in opposition to the extravagant notions of Hierarchical power, vested in the Governors of the established church, with which they had been besotted.

Among the foremost of these was Dr. *Benjamin Hoadley*, Bishop of *Bangor*, who not only “ held “ the *occasional* and *schism* acts to be persecuting “ laws, which were not to be justified by the “ plea of *self-defence* and *self-preservation*, any “ more than the persecution of the Christians by “ the heathens, or the Popish Inquisition,” but likewise attacked the *Corporation* and *Test Acts*, by shewing at large, “ the unreasonableness and “ ill policy of imposing religious tests, as a qualification for civil and military employments, as “ abridging men of their natural rights, depriving the state of the service of many of its “ best subjects, and exposing its most sacred institutions and ordinances, to be abused by profane and irreligious persons.” To which he added, that, “ as to the power of which some “ clergymen appeared so fond and so jealous, he “ owned

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“owned that the desire of power and riches is
 “natural to all men; but that he had learned
 “both from reason and the Gospel, that this de-
 “fire must keep within due bounds, and not
 “entrench upon the rights and liberties of our
 “fellow-creatures and countrymen.”

An eulogist of Archbishop *Wake*, from whom I take the foregoing particularsⁱ, observes, that “this
 “was *flying full in the face* of the Archbishop,”
 who, we are to suppose, was of *contrary* senti-
 ments, and who it seems had been highly pro-
 voked before, by Bishop *Hoadley's* sermon on
The Nature of the Kingdom of Christ, in which he
 had made it appear, that to impose laws upon
 the subjects of this Kingdom, relating to matters
 of salvation, which Christ had not mentioned,
 was encroaching upon his legislative authority,
 and utterly unwarrantable.

The Archbishop, sufficiently irritated by these
 doings, would no doubt have exercised ecclesiasti-
 cal discipline upon this *false brother*, had the
 times been favourable, and had not the Patriots
 of those days found it necessary to cherish these
 liberal and Christian principles, in order to op-
 pose the rebellious spirit of those times, fomented
 by the narrow, tyrannical system of High-church
 bigots, and adherents of the *Stuart-race*, on the
 presumption of a *divine right* of succession, and

^a Biog. Brit. WAKE, Rem. [L].

the infallibility of the doctrines of the church, among which they reckoned passive obedience, and Non-resistance.

His Grace, being prevented by these circumstances from mortifying these Heretics *at home*, determined to take some satisfaction of them, by making known his griefs to the Protestants abroad, which he did in a Letter to the *Superintendent* of the Church of *Zurich* in *Switzerland*, wherein he gives a free vent to his indignation, as may be seen in a copy of the Letter itself exhibited in the margin, by way of *Supplement* to the *Authentic Copies* of the correspondence of this eminent Prelate, with which *Dr. Maclaine* hath favoured the public ^b.

^b Ecclesia Anglicana divisionibus perrupta est et schismatibus divisa. Tot ac tam variis Hominum ab ipsius sacris sese segregantium generibus confusa, ut nullis propriis nominibus vel ipsi se distinguere valeant vel aliis describere. Atque utinam etiam hoc ultimum nobis querelæ argumentum esset! Sed impleri oportet quæcumque spiritus Dei olim futura prædixit; adeo et inter nos ipsos exsurrexerunt viri loquentes perversa. Et quid dico, viri? Immo PASTORES, EPISCOPI ipsi manibus Ecclesiam diruunt, in quâ ministrant; ad cujus doctrinam, pluries subscripsere; quibus defensio Ecclesiæ commissa, quorum munus est invigilare contra hostes ejus, eosque pro meritis, redarguere, compescere, punire. Etiam hi illius Ecclesiæ auctoritatem labefactare nituntur, pro quâ non tantum certare, verum, si res ita postularet, etiam mori debuerint. Quæ sint horum Novatorum placita ex duobus nuperis scriptis Gallico sermone libellis aliquatenus discernere valeatis. Uno hic verbo dixisse sufficiat, his hominibus omnes Fidei Confessiones, omnes Articulorum

In

In this Letter, his **Grace** accuses certain Bishops and Pastors of the church of England, of *demonstrating the Church with their own hands*; and, in-

subscriptions animitus displicere. Velle eos libertatem, seu verius licentiam omnibus concedi quæcunque libuerit non tantum credendi, sed dicendi, scribendi, prædicandi; etiam si Gratia Spiritus sancti, Christi Divinitas, alia omnia Religionis nostræ principia maximè fundamentalia exinde forent evertenda. Quis hæc Christianus, de hominibus nomine, saltem Christianis, dici non obstupescat! Quis non doleat hujusmodi λύκας βορείς non tantum non ab Ovili longe arceri, verum etiam intra ipsa Ecclesiæ pomeria recipi? ad honores, ad officia, ad gubernacula ejus admitti? At vero ita se res habet. Dum ad ea quæ sunt hujus seculi, unice respicimus, prorsum obliviscimur eorum quæ ad alterum spectant. Et quia horum hominum tolerantia et promotione quidam se populi favorem conciliaturos sperant, quibus id unice cordi, ut in suis sese dignitatibus et potentia tueantur, parum curant quid de Ecclesiâ, de Fide, de Religione, de ipso denique Jesu Christo, ejusque veritate eveniat. Ignoscas, vir spectatissime, si, dum iusto animi dolori indulgeam, indignationem meam contra hosce Religionis nostræ inimicos, paulo asperius quam pro more meo expresserim. Reum me putarem proditæ Fidei, si non his Hæreticis, quavis occasione oblatâ, Anathema dixerim.——I transcribe this from the first volume of a Collection of Tracts, by the late *John Trenchard* esquire, and *Thomas Gordon* esquire, the latter of whom hath made some shrewd remarks upon it, and hath contrasted some particulars in it, with his Grace's sentiments, or rather perhaps expressions, in his *Defence of the Exposition of the Doctrine of the church of England*, and in his Sermon, Nov. 5, 1699, in which he hath spoken with sufficient clearness in favour of every man's right of judging for himself, in matters of Faith, alledging, in the *Defence*, that, "if a man be evidently convinced, upon
"the best Enquiry he can make, that his particular belief is
"founded upon the word of God, and that of the Church is

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stead of watching over her, confuting, restraining and punishing her adversaries; of endeavouring to weaken and undermine her authority, for

“not, he is obliged to support and adhere to his own belief, “in opposition to that of the church:” and in his Sermon, “that the right of examining what is proposed to us in matters “of religion is not any special privilege of the Pastors or “Governors of the Church, but is the common right and “duty of all Christians whatsoever.” *Gordon*, having got the Archbishop at this advantage, fails not to make use of it in exposing his inconsistency, in so bitterly reviling Bishop *Hoadley*, and his partizans, for the same doctrine which he himself had taught some years before. The compiler of Archbishop *Wake*’s article in the *Biographia Britannica* is of opinion, that *Gordon* had ill success in forming this Contrast, and inferring from it a change in the Archbishop’s principles, “for want of distinguishing between a *licentious* and *malevolent*, and a *liberal*, ingenuous inquiry.” So that it seems, according to this Biographer, the inquiry asserted and recommended by Bishop *Hoadley* was of the *licentious*, *malevolent* kind, and that by Bishop *Wake* of the *liberal*, *ingenuous* sort. If one were to ask him, *How so?* and his masters would let him speak out, the upshot would be, that the *licentious*, *malevolent* Inquiry would *always* end in depreciating Church Authority, and the *liberal*, *ingenuous* one *always* in submitting to it. And this reminds me of another *distinction*, of our ingenuous Biographer. In the year 1721, Archbishop *Wake* joined the Earl of *Nottingham* in preparing and bringing into Parliament a Bill, enacting a new test against the Arian heresy. *Whiston*, in a letter he wrote to his Grace on this occasion, called this an attempt to introduce an holy inquisition into the church of *England*, and upbraided his Grace, with changing his note in promoting an act for punishing the defenders of certain opinions, before those opinions were examined, in 1721, which opinions he had consented, in 1712, ought to be examined before they were condemned. *Memoirs*, ed. 1749, p. 257. “The answer to this, says the Biographer, is very obvious, which

which they not only ought to contend, but, even if need were, to lay down their lives.—He calls them *Innovators*, and says, they are disaffected

“viz. the increase of these heretical doctrines since 1712, made, in his Grace’s opinion, sharper ways of proceeding against them proper in 1721.” But what had the *increase* of those opinions to do with the *punishment* of them, since, for want of Examination, it was equally uncertain in 1721 as in 1712, whether they were true or false? The stupidity of these *savings* of the Archbishop’s credit is not half so lamentable as the partiality of them. There is nothing more detrimental to the interests of Truth and Liberty, than this silly deference to great names in a voluminous historical work, from which posterity is to take examples of right and wrong, in matters of the utmost importance. *Anthony Wood* was a notorious transgressor this way; but the man was known, and the world seasonably apprized to whom, for what reasons, and from what prejudices, his encomiums and his abuses were respectively directed. In this *Biographia* the same spirit prevails in too many instances, with this aggravation, that you have no opportunity of inquiring into the principles, views, and connexions of the *nameless* retailer. By good luck, however, that happens not to be the case with respect to the compiler of Archbishop *Wake’s* article in this Work. He hath furnished materials himself, whereby to ascertain his identity. At page 104, of the *Supplement* to the *Biographia*, and in the last *Remark* upon the Article *HOLT* [SIR JOHN], the Biographer informs us, that he was the person who published a certain letter from Sir *Thomas Hanmer* to Dr. *Joseph Smith*, the calstration of which from the *Biographia Britannica* he ascribes, *sans façon*, to the procurement of a right reverend Prelate, whose name he there mentions. The signature at the foot of Sir *John Holt’s* Article is the letter P, the same which is at the end of Archbishop *Wake’s* Article; a plain proof that both Articles were drawn up by the same hand, even by the author of a quarto pamphlet, published in 1763, exhibiting

to all Confessions of Faith and Subscriptions to Articles.—That they are for having liberty granted to all, not only to believe, but likewise

an authentic copy of the castrated Letter abovementioned, with a number of anecdotes thereunto belonging. In that pamphlet, the author gives himself the humiliating title of *A poor penitent thief*. The circumstance which gives occasion to that signature, is remembered by more than the Bishop of *Bristol*. And though no man has a right to call in question the sincerity of another man's penitence, or to upbraid him with the fault for which he expresses it, yet, it is well known, that when one, in that predicament, sets himself up for an evidence, the adverse party will of course bring former convictions in abatement of his competency and credibility, and that exceptions of that kind have been admitted before the most solemn tribunals. Our Biographer, in the pamphlet of 1763, once more makes the *amende honorable* anent the *pilfering* of Sir *Thomas Hanmer's Letter*, and dexterously enough exculpates himself, by throwing the guilt upon *The Accessary before the Fact*; leaving us however to conclude, that he himself was too apt to be biassed by undue influence. We object therefore to Mr. *P's* testimony on the behalf of Archbishop *Wake*, the rather because we find him at his *castrating* tricks again in that very volume, in the Article BUTLER [JOSEPH], *Supplement*, p. 20, by sinking upon us, in his account of Bishop *Butler's* works, a remarkable CHARGE, published in 1752. We learn from his marginal references annexed to that Article, that he had several particulars communicated to him by the late most reverend Archbishop of *Canterbury*, who supplied him with the account he gives of his Grace's intimate connexions with Bishop *Butler*. Shall we say that his Grace was ignorant that such a charge was extant? or shall we suppose there might be here likewise an *Accessary before the Fact*? To be plain, there is reason to believe that our Biographer had some of his materials for the *Article*, WAKE [WILLIAM], from *Lambeth House*, and might, if his informers had so pleased, have fairly

to speak, write, preach whatsoever they please, even though the Grace of the holy spirit, the divinity of Christ, and every other principle of our religion, were thereby to be overturned.—He calls them *grievous wolves*, which are not only not driven from the sheepfold, but are entertained within the very enclosures of the Church. This gives him an opportunity of falling foul upon the ministry of that time, who, thinking to ingratiate themselves with the people by the toleration and promotion of such men, and being concerned for nothing but the preservation of their own dignity and power, have no manner of concern what becomes of the church, of the Faith, of religion, or, in a word, of Jesus Christ himself. And he concludes with assuring his correspondent, “that he should think himself guilty of betraying *The Faith*, if he did not, upon every occasion given, pronounce *Anathema* against these Heretics.”

Such *Anathema* however never was pronounced by his Grace against these Heretics, that we know of. It would be trifling contemptibly to say, that no *occasion* was ever offered for it, since, if his Grace's representation is true, occasions for

told us the whole truth concerning the *Sorbonne Correspondence*, without putting the author of *The Confessional* to the trouble of drawing it from the *Letter-writer* and Dr. *MacLaine*, by a tedious distillation.

such

such denunciations must have occurred every day^c.

^c It seems, this wicked race of *Church-demolishers* did not expire with Bishop *Hoadley*. The vigilant Dr. *Balguy* hath discovered a pernicious remnant of them, who are very proper objects of *Deprivation*. "A class of men, to whom the plea of "compassion," which he is willing to allow, in some cases, "will not extend; those, he means, who without any pretence "to inspiration, live in open war with the national Church, "with that very church of which they profess themselves ministers, and whose wages they continue to take, though in actual *service* against her." *Sermon*, February 12, 1769, p. 20. Who does not see in this description, the features of Bishop *Hoadley*, as they were painted by the Committee of Convocation, in 1717? who, in their language, "having first rendered "odious her Acts of Uniformity, and Articles of Religion, which "were her main fence and security, reduced the church to the "deplorable state, of having no Governors, no censures over "the conduct of men in matters of religion, and excluding the "temporal powers from any right to encourage true religion, "or to discourage the contrary." *Report*, p. 12, 13. And thus likewise Archbishop *Wake* describes him and his Party. "Bishops and Pastors, who demolished the church with their own "hands, the very church in which they minister." Indeed neither the Committee nor Archbishop *Wake* touch upon the aggravation of the Bishop of *Bangor's* taking the Church's *Wages*. And it had been as well if Dr. *Balguy* had not mentioned it. Because, if I remember right, the Book of *Alliance*, on which the Doctor confers so *just* an encomium in the only marginal note in his *Sermon*, quite spoils the pretty antithesis between *wages* and *service*, by informing us, that it is the *state*, and not the *church*, that pays these miscreants their wages. "Whether," continues Dr. *Balguy*, "this conduct proceed from a dislike to "all establishments, or from a desire of erecting a *new* one on "the ruins of that which subsists at present, in either case, it "is contrary to the most evident principles of justice and honour." *Sermon*, p. 20. This is decisive, and strikes much deeper than even the Committee abovementioned ventured to

I dare say, if Dr. *Macclaine* had been aware of this part of his Grace's correspondence with foreign Protestants, he would once more have applied to his friend, the learned and worthy Clergyman, for a reason why his Grace chose thus to complain of and accuse his brethren to the Presbyterian Church of *Zurich*, where they had no opportunity of answering for themselves, and to which they were not answerable, if an oppor-

go, after a pretty long specification of the Bishop of *Bangor's* crimes. "How his Lordship, say they, can, consistently with these opinions, make good his solemn promise, made at his Consecration, *to be ready*, &c. And how he can exercise the high office intrusted to him in the church; or convey holy Orders to others, are difficulties which *himself only* can resolve." *Report*, p. 9. But Dr. *Balguy*, we see, can resolve difficulties of the very same sort, upon more slender data. However, the Committee-men had a great mind to know how the Bishop would get over these difficulties; and therefore "hum- bly hoped his Grace and their Lordships would think it proper to call for the explication." Which, however, they never did, to the great grief of the Committee-men, and of many an honest hearty Churchman in succeeding times, who would have been right glad to have seen this strange Bishop stripped of his Lawn. But the views of puny mortals are extremely short. How much better has it been for the Church that he was spared! Since, had he been *deprived* in those early days, he would not have had the A—d—ry of W—ch—r to dispose of.

—— Have you eyes?

Could you on THIS fair mountain leave to feed,
And batten on this moore? —— What judgment
Would step from THIS to this?
A thing that is not twentieth part the tythe
Of your precedent Lord.

tunity

tunity had offered, rather than exercise his *anathemas* upon them at home, in consequence of his presiding in the church which they thus grievously *damaged*? did this underhand scolding in a foreign country, and among Nonepiscopal Sectaries, become the Prelate of the first See in England, who believed that “the *Prerogatives* of an Archbishop of *Canterbury* are greater than those of all the Archbishops in *France*^d?” did he believe this conduct would do him any honour when it came to be known in *Great Britain*? or did he not rather hope it would never enter into the heads of the Pastors of *Zurich*, to reckon the communication of his Grace’s *griefs*, among the benefits conferred upon their church^e?

And now, what can be the great occasion of offence given by the author of *The Confessional* to Dr. *Maclaine*? wherein is either *Mosheim* to blame for saying, (if he did say it) that Archbishop *Wake* formed a project of Peace and Union between the *English* and *Gallican Churches*, or the author of *The Confessional* in blaming the Archbishop in the terms he did for entertaining such a project?

^d Authentic Copies, N^o X.

^e The Archbishop’s Letter was published in a little piece, intitled *Oratio Historica de Beneficiis in Ecclesiam Tigurinam collatis*.

Dr. *MacLaine* indeed is not pleased that the author of *The Confessional* should say, that the Doctor *seemed* [in a note upon the passage of *Mosheim*] *not only to acknowledge the truth of this particular fact, but likewise to give it the sanction of his approbation*, whereas Dr. *MacLaine* insists that “the general observation he made, drawn “from Dr. *Wake*’s known zeal for the Protestant “Religion, was designed, *not to confirm* that assertion, but rather to insinuate his *disbelief* of “it.” And he says, “If the author of *The Confessional* had given a little more attention to “this, he could not have represented the Doctor “as confirming the fact alledged by *Mosheim*, “much less as giving it, what the said author is “pleased to call, the sanction of his approbation f.”

Now Dr. *MacLaine* begins his note with saying, that “Archbishop *Wake* certainly corresponded “with some learned and moderate *Frenchmen*, on “this subject; particularly with *Du Pin* the ecclesiastical Historian.” And this he said, without the slightest intimation, that the Archbishop did *not* begin the correspondence. Might he not then very well *seem* to confirm the fact, alledged by *Mosheim*, thus far at least?—But the Doctor goes still farther. He says “the Archbishop, no “doubt, when he assisted *Courayer* in his defence of

f Supplement, p. 21.

“ the validity of the English ordinations,—had
 “ it in his view to remove certain groundless pre-
 “ judices, which, while they subsisted amongst
 “ Roman-catholics, could not but defeat all pro-
 “ jects of peace and union between the *English*
 “ and *Gallican* Churches.”

Take this along with the actual correspondence which followed between the Archbishop and the moderate *Frenchmen*; and how can you otherwise understand it, than that, in the *views* of the Archbishop, this *removal of prejudices* was a *preparatory* step towards an union with the Gallican Church.

“ But Dr. *MacLaine* was so far from *approv-*
ing the conditions of the Union mentioned by
 “ *Mosheim*, that he *did not believe* them.” Why
 did not the Doctor then express his *unbelief*?
 is it implied in what he *does* express, *viz.* that
 “ The interest of the Protestant Religion could
 “ not be in safer hands than Archbishop *Wake's*?”
 is it implied in the supposition that “ so able a
 “ defender of the Protestant cause, could not
 “ form any project of peace and union with a
 “ Roman Catholic church, the terms of which
 “ would have reflected on his character as a ne-
 “ gotiator?”

It is allowed, in the beginning of the note,
 that Archbishop *Wake* actually corresponded up-
 on the subject with the Gallican Divines. It is

allowed, that in certain transactions *previous* to this correspondence he *had it in his view*, to remove certain prejudices, which, unremoved, would defeat all projects of peace and union between the two Churches. And it is concluded from Archbishop Wake's abilities and success in defending Protestantism, that *the interests of the Protestant religion could not be in safer hands*. Thus far surely Dr. Maclaine does not seem to disapprove of the negotiation. And the supposition, *that the Archbishop would come into no terms which would reflect on his character as a negotiator*, taken along with what goes before, seems to convey the idea of something the very reverse, either of a disbelief, or disapprobation, of the terms mentioned in the text.

I am the more satisfied, that the author of *The Confessional* is sufficiently justifiable in his interpretation of Dr. Maclaine's note, in that Dr. Maclaine himself, in this very *Supplement*², seems to think that "Dr. Wake could not, upon any principles of Christianity, reason, or charity, have refused to hear the proposals, terms, and sentiments of the Sorbonne Doctors, who discovered an inclination to unite with his Church."

But if Christianity, reason, and charity required this, and if, as Dr. Maclaine thinks, "the Arch-

² P. 24.

- "bishop

“bishop was *greatly* in the right to enter into “this correspondence,” the reason must be (I mean *that* reason in which *Christianity* and *charity* had any thing to do) that such Union would be edifying, christian, reasonable, and charitable. And if so, would it not be *christian, reasonable, and charitable*, that, in order to accomplish such Union, concessions should be mutually made on either side? this indeed is not only a natural, but a necessary consequence of the Doctor’s opinion of the Archbishop’s obligation to hear the proposals, terms, and sentiments of the *Sorbonne* Doctors, and of the *rightness* of his entering into a Correspondence with them on the subject. The Doctor indeed puts the *obligation* and the *rightness* upon this, that “the *Sorbonnists* discovered “an inclination to unite with the Archbishop’s “Church.”—But still it was to unite upon *proposals* and *terms*; otherwise the *inclination discovered* must have been an inclination to come over to the Church of *England*, without any proposals or terms whatsoever, which would have put the Archbishop’s *obligation to hear*, and the *rightness of entering* into a Correspondence with them, upon a very different footing. But I dare say Dr. *Maclaine* himself will allow that this was *not* the case.

And upon these considerations, I, for my part, cannot but suppose that Dr. *Maclaine* did not
 4 think

think the Archbishop so very liable to censure, for acceding to the *condition* mentioned by *Mosheim*, till he had been *led* to reflect on the consequences of it. And I am the more confirmed in that supposition, by what *Dr. Maclaine* himself observes in his *Supplement*, namely, that “ he only said, “ there was a correspondence on the subject, without speaking a syllable of the unpleasing *Condition* ^h.”

The *suppositions* of the author of *The Confessional*, founded on the suspicions, &c. in Mr. *Beauvoir's* Letter, and the handsome mention of *Du Pin*, may be given up, as of no more consequence. They have done their errand. They have forced into Day-light, proofs that are more to be depended upon; and, thanks to the publisher of the *Supplement* and the *Authentic Copies*, *Dr. Maclaine* will have no longer occasion to say, “ These “ are *all* the proofs which the author of *The Confessional* has to give of the probability, that “ the Archbishop was the *first mover* of this affair.”

The author of *The Confessional* had said, that “ it was, at the best, officious and presumptuous “ in *Dr. Wake*, to enter into a negotiation of this “ nature, without authority from the church, or “ the Government ⁱ”.

^h P. 21, 22.

ⁱ *Preface*, p. lxxxv.

To this Dr. *MacLaine* replies, " But the truth is, he entered into no *negotiation* or *treaty* on this head ; he considered the letters that were written on both sides, as a personal correspondence between individuals, which could not commence a *negotiation* until they had received the *proper powers* from their respective sovereigns ^k."

Dr. *MacLaine* will be pleased to recollect, if the author of *The Confessional* used the word *negotiation* improperly on this occasion, who it was that led him into the impropriety, by first *speaking* of Dr. *Wake* under the character of a *negotiator*? and if he did not come up to that character in his transactions, or his correspondence concerning an *Union* with the Gallican church, I will venture to say, it was none of his fault. It now appears that the Gallican churchmen would not *negotiate* with him. His *overture* of corresponding with the Cardinal Archbishop of *Paris* in their proper and respective characters was the overture of a formal *negotiation*, which it is evident was to be carried on between them to a certain point, when it would be time to lay it before their respective sovereigns ^l. But to this, the Archbishop never could bring the Cardinal; and was therefore obliged to go on, corresponding with these indivi-

^k *Supplement*, p. 24.

^l *Authentic Copies*, N^o III.
duals,

duals, for mere amusement, we must suppose, without any other end or object.

And yet in the very next sentence we are told, “ that Dr. *Maclaine* thinks the Archbishop “ was greatly in the right to enter into this correspondence, as it seemed very likely, in the “ *then* circumstances of the Gallican Church, to “ serve the Protestant interest and the cause of “ the Reformation.”

What! all this *public good* from “ a personal “ correspondence between individuals!” and without any endeavour on the part of the Archbishop to make it a *public transaction*! A correspondence, while it was carried on, studiously concealed, as much as might be, from every individual of this *Protestant* Island! It would be a curiosity to know how, or in what way, the Protestant interest, or the cause of the Reformation, could be served, while the correspondence remained in this state of obscurity; and yet in this state it must continue, on the peril of Archbishop *Wake*’s being found in a *negotiation* for an *Union* of the English and Gallican churches.

Dr. *Maclaine* says, “ No such thing appears in “ the Archbishop’s Letters, as the condition im- “ puted to him by *Mosheim*, namely, that *each* “ of the two churches should retain the greatest part “ of their respective and peculiar doctrines.”

I am

I am in some doubt, as I said above, whether it is *Mosheim* or Dr. *Maclaine* that imputes this condition to the Archbishop. Be that as it may, I should think that the Archbishop's *Compromise* in the affair of *Transubstantiation* is a pretty strong instance of his Grace's willingness to accept the Condition, not to mention other instances already remarked in these papers. Let the reader judge.

The author of *The Confessional* had said, that "The Archbishop might have maintained the justice and orthodoxy of every individual article of the Church of *England*, and yet have given up some of them for the sake of peace^m."

"But, says Dr. *Maclaine*, the Archbishop expressly declares in his Letters, that he would give up none of them."

If he did, his Grace was disposed, in my opinion (upon second thoughts perhaps), to be *better* than his word. I have always thought *The No-Primacy of the Pope in the Reformed Church of England*, to be a *just* and *orthodox* doctrine of that Church; yet this seems to be given up with no great difficulty. But indeed I do not know what the author of *The Confessional* might have said to this, had he seen the Correspondence before he made this remark. For in the Archbishop's Let-

^m *Preface*, p. lxxix.

ter to *Du Pin*, his Grace appears to come so very near to his Correspondent, in what he calls *Dogmata*, in the *Government of the Church*, and in *Fundamentals*, whether of *Doctrine* or *Discipline*, that it should seem very little was to be given up on either side. Whether indeed the good people of England would have acquiesced in the Idea the good Prelate gave *Du Pin* of their established church, is what I very much question: but, upon the footing of this representation, it is no wonder they should *stare* at the seeming *practicability* of uniting the Protestant Church of *England* with the Popish *Gallican Church*.

The learned Doctor's question, whether the reflexion of the author of *The Confessional*, viz. that, "without some concessions on the part of the Archbishop, the treaty could not have gone a step farther," would hold in *theory*, he may be left to discuss at his leisure. For I cannot find, that the said author has given the remotest intimation of his belief, that the Archbishop's project related only to a *theoretic* Treaty. And indeed I think myself, that it appears from the Correspondence sufficiently, that this was by no means the Case.

The worthy Doctor seems to be a little too much elated, on the author of *The Confessional* inferring, from the circumstance, that "the
" Letters

" Letters were received at *Rome*, as so many tro-
 " phies gained from the enemies of the Church,"
 that the Archbishop must have made *some* conces-
 sions: and asks, " Could nothing but Concessions
 " from the Archbishop make the court of *Rome*
 " consider them in that light? would they not
 " think it a great triumph, that they had obliged
 " *Du Pin's* party to give up the Letters, as a
 " token of their submission, and defeated the
 " Archbishop's design of engaging the Gallican
 " church to assert its liberty, by throwing off the
 " Papal Yoke? If *Dr. Wake* made concessions,
 " where are they? and if these were the tro-
 " phies, why did not the Partisans of *Rome* pub-
 " lish authentic copies of them to the world?
 " did the author of *The Confessional* ever hear
 " of a victorious General, who carefully hid un-
 " der ground the standards he had taken from
 " the enemy?"

To these interrogatories I answer, on the part
 of the author who is thus insulted, that the me-
 taphor of *Trophies* is not *his*, but cited from the
 Biographer and Eulogist of the Archbishop, who
 alone must be answerable for the impropriety of
 the figure, if there is any in it. According to
 the Biographer, the Letters were the *trophies*, and
 the contents of them the matter of triumph, what-
 ever it was. The Letters could not be tokens of
submission, for they were extorted from *Girardin*
 by

by compulsion. “ The *Gallican* church, according to Archbishop *Wake* himself, when the “ Pope used his authority ever so little contrary “ to their good liking, protested against it, appealed to a general Council, and then minded “ him as little as the English could do “.” So that the Archbishop’s allowing his Holiness a *Primacy of Place and honour*, would seem to the Court of *Rome*, a full balance for any *design* his Grace might have of engaging the *Gallican* church to assert its liberty, by throwing off the Papal Yoke. This liberty the *Gallican* Church always asserted. And therefore the defeat of the Archbishop’s design could not be half so much matter of triumph to the Court of *Rome*, as the *concession* of an universal Primacy would be: which, with other Concessions, were in those Letters of the Archbishop, which *Girardin* was obliged to give up. And authentic copies of them were no doubt sufficiently published for the purpose of the court of *Rome*. And lastly, the Letters were not hidden under Ground by the *victorious General*, who was the Abbé *Du Bois*. The victory was obtained, and the standards taken, in *France*; and were sent by the *victorious General* to *Rome*, the Head-quarters of the Popish Church; and what rejoicings they occasioned there, neither Dr. *Maclaine* nor I can tell. *Du Bois*, it seems,

* *Authentic Copies*, N° IX.

obtained

obtained a Cardinal's hat for his *Generalship*. And for any thing Dr. *MacLaine* hath said, or can say, the chief merit of his services appears to have been, his exposing the *Concessions* of a learned English Prelate to the contemplation of the Pope, who perhaps was never apprized, that the church of *Rome* and the church of *England* were so nearly related, before he saw it in this Correspondence. And this, without having recourse to precarious conjectures, will sufficiently account for the Compliments paid to his Grace's *Catholic Benevolence*.

I have now done with my remarks on this Correspondence, which have run out to a much greater length than I at first intended. But of the many crimes charged upon the author of *The Confessional*, that of High Treason against Archbishop *Wake* appearing to have made the most general impresson, and to have occasioned the loudest clamour, I was willing for my own satisfaction, as well as in justice to an injured author, to examine it to the bottom, for which a fairer occasion could not be offered (unless the whole Correspondence had been published) than the publication of these *Authentic Copies*, in the learned Dr. *Maclaine's* Supplement to his translation of Dr. *Mosheim's* Ecclesiastical History.

The room this examination hath taken up obliges me to apologize to the *Letter-writer* for
P postponing

postponing for the present my remarks on the remaining part of his first Letter; assuring him however that, at a proper time, he shall not be forgot.

The same consideration must be my excuse for omitting, at this time, some remarks which have occurred in running over the respectable Dr. *MacLaine's second Appendix* in this Supplement. A future occasion will be taken to pay a proper regard to it. The subject is interesting and curious, and may be debated with less regret than a question, the elucidation of which is perpetually exhibiting so many striking and mortifying instances of the weakness and wavering of so great a man (in other respects) as Archbishop *Wake*. But (to borrow Dr. *MacLaine's* motto) *Magis amica Veritas*. Where the interests of the Protestant Religion are concerned, the writer of these Papers hath learned from St. *Paul*, Οὐδενὰ εἶδεναι κατὰ σὰρκα.

By way of closing the subject, I would humbly recommend it to Dr. *MacLaine*, with all due deference to his own *sagacity*, to be extremely cautious how he takes the characters of the Great Churchmen of this country, whether living or dead, from Clergymen of a certain stamp, however *learned* or *worthy* in other matters. Most men are apt to be warped either by their own early prejudices, or by interesting connexions in
their

their commerce with the world, but more particularly in the state of *Aspirants*.

This hint is suggested to me, not only by the intelligence communicated to the Doctor by *one* learned and worthy clergyman, concerning a particular circumstance in Archbishop *Wake's* history, but likewise by a more general Character of the said Archbishop, adopted by Dr. *MacLaine* from *another* learned and worthy Divine, who, in the year 1743, published (in the Doctor's account) "a noble edition, and a very elegant and judicious, continuation, of Bishop *GODWIN's* Commentarius de *Præsulibus Angliæ* °."

This learned and worthy Divine had his favourite Characters, and his characters which were *not* favourites. His account of Archbishop *Wake* shews the *first*; and of the *second* sort, take the following instance.

About the year 1706, a project was formed to episcopize the church of *Prussia*, according to the model of the Church of *England*, with respect to government, worship, and discipline.

The chief movers in this business on the side of *Prussia*, were the Doctors *Grabe*, *Jablonski*, and *Orsini*, with the authority and countenance, as is said, of *Frederic* their Sovereign.

• Supplement, p. 39.

To forward this scheme, application was made to Archbishop *Tenison* for his concurrence, both by writing and in personal conference, by the *Prussian* Envoys, *Spanheim* and *Bonet*. Of this transaction a long account was drawn up by Dr. *Richardson*, intended to be inserted under Archbishop *Tenison's* Article, in his Continuation of *Godwin*; wherein the Archbishop's conduct in this negotiation (*absit invidia verbo*) was set forth at some length.

After giving an account, that his *Prussian* Majesty had earnestly requested, by his envoys above-mentioned, of the Archbishop, that certain of the *Prussian* Clergy, selected for that purpose, might receive Episcopal consecration, according to the rites of the Church of England, the narrative goes on as follows:

Verum cum nimis cunctanter hæc res procederet, ejusdem Regis jussu, *Ursinus*, inter Borussiarum theologos princeps, literis ad Archiepiscopum Cantuariensem datis anno MDCCVI, iterum iterumque efflagitavit, ut Borussorum necessitatibus, hac in parte, succurreret Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ pietas. Archiepiscopus, colloquio habito, per nuncium respondit, se quidem quæ postulaverat, libenter facturum, quantum in se erat, neque honestis Borussorum desideriis defuturum; verum in re tanti momenti amplius deliberandum censuit, ut Regina ipsius et eorum qui apud ipsam gratia valebant

valebant maxime, voluntate prius explorata et perspecta, quid effici poterat intelligeret; tum demum se ubi primum commode potuerit, literis significaturum; literas hasce diu sane et frustra expectarunt Borussi: quænam vero intercesserint impedimenta scire non datur, nihil certe effectum videtur.

These particulars are taken from the Article GRABE [JOHN ERNEST], Rem. [L] in the *Supplement* to the *Biographia Britannica*. And we thus far see nothing in them which tends to impeach Archbishop *Tenison's* character. The consecrating Foreign Bishops by our Forms, and by the hands of English Bishops, was a matter of great delicacy. It would certainly require a Royal Licence; and that might not be readily obtained, for reasons of different kinds. The Archbishop was therefore prudent in putting off the matter, till he had informed himself of the Queen's pleasure, and the sense of her counsellors. The only thing that appears blameable in his Grace was, his sending no answer to *Orsi- ni's* Letter; and even that might be accounted for, without any imputation upon his Grace's attention to the affair, or his politeness; upon the supposition, that he had no answer to send which would not have given them pain. And accordingly we see, Dr. *Richardson* neither attempted to account for his Grace's silence, nor pretend-

ed to know what impediments prevented the design from taking that effect.

Thus far upon the supposition, that these facts relating to Archbishop *Tenison* were true.

Archbishop *Tenison* happened to be a more moderate man in his principles than some of his successors; one of whom contemplating, with much regret, the loss of so glorious an opportunity of *amplifying the dignity of the Church of England*, thought proper to animadvert on the conduct of Archbishop *Tenison*, in a manner, of which the following account is given by Dr. *Grabe's* Biographer, our old friend Mr. *P.*

“ Thus the account of this projected union
“ stood in the *first* copies. But Bishop *Potter*,
“ who was the principal encourager of this edi-
“ tion of *Godwin*, observing some circumstances
“ in it *not carefully enough related*, prevailed with
“ the learned editor to cancel the sheet, and
“ print another in its stead, in which the Story
“ is much shortened, as follows:

“ Restabat tamen ecclesiæ reformatæ una tri-
“ umphi materies, quam temporis opportunitas
“ obtulit, quam tamen Archiepiscopus noster,
“ *præ nimia cunctatione, timiditate, vel abundan-*
“ *ti et intempestiva cautela, neglexit.* Intelligi
“ Episcoporum in Borussia ordinationem, juxta
“ Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ exemplar, quam Rex Bo-

“ russ

"russ. religionis reformatæ, juxta ac Literatorum
 "fautor, per regna sua celebrari voluit; et ea
 "de causa virum tum eruditione, tum pietate
 "eximium, D. Ernestum Grabe in Angliam
 "transmisit, in episcopum, juxta ritus ecclesiæ
 "Anglicanæ, ordinandum. Verum Archiepisco-
 "pus, adeo non avide occasionem oblatam arripuit,
 "ut frigide et oscitanter rem momenti gravissimi
 "curaret, et difficultatibus et causationibus inter-
 "jectis, ita in longum protraxit, ut aliquando tan-
 "dem irrita prorsus intercideret."

And thus, I suppose, stands the account of
 this affair in this *noble* edition of *Godwin* to this
 hour, with as much disgrace to good Dr. *Tenison*,
 as party prejudice, irritated by the miscar-
 riage of a hopeful high-church scheme, could
 contrive to load him.

Would any one now believe, that *Orsini* never
 wrote any such Letter as is mentioned in the first
 account, to Archbishop *Tenison*?—that the pro-
 ject was formed by a few intemperate zealots
 only, and unsupported by the body of the Clergy
 of the *Prussian* Church in general?—and that a
 Liturgy in the German Language was actually
 prepared for the use of the *Prussian* church,
 which their clergy refused to accept?

Yet this is the information we have from the
 Biographer; and the last fact, upon the joint

testimony of the two Archbishops *Potter* and *Secker*.

And now I would beg *Dr. Maclaine's* attention to the following reflections.

1. *Dr. Wake* was one whose notions of Church-Authority perfectly coincided with those of Archbishop *Potter*. The latter was the great Patron of this edition of *Godwin's* Commentary, and the Continuation of it. If the Biographer may be credited, Archbishop *Potter* prevailed to have this degrading character of Archbishop *Tenison* inserted in the *Continuation*, on the pretence that some circumstances in a former account *were not carefully enough related*. I would not willingly suppose that his Grace knew, that *Orsini's* Letter to Archbishop *Tenison* was a *Non-entity*; as certainly as he knew that the main body of the *Prussian* Clergy were averse to a Liturgy. I will only put the question, whether it is not possible that the same prejudices, which operated so violently to the disparagement of *Dr. Tenison*, might have some share in the favourable character of *Dr. Wake*, quoted at the end of *Dr. Maclaine's* third *Appendix* P.

† That character is in these words: *Nemo usquam ecclesie Romanæ et Anglicanæ statum penitus cognitum et exploratum habuit; et proinde in disputandi arenam prodiit tum ad oppugnandum, tum ad propugnandum, instructissimus*. I dare say, the learned Editor of *Godwin*, when he wrote this, had never seen these Letters now published by *Dr. Maclaine*.

2. The

2. The Biographer above quoted, whose authority I make use of on this occasion, says, that “Dr. *Tenison* behaved with great prudence” [in paying so little regard to the application of the *Prussians*] “under a *just* apprehension, that “the project was formed by a few intemperate “zealots only, and unsupported by the body of “the Prussian clergy.” An honest and a true remark! But it is not the way of our Mr. *P.* to leave a whig-character upon so fair a footing; at least without something to balance it in the Tory scale. Accordingly he refers us to the margin, where we read as follows: *A like defect was observed by Archbishop Wake, in a project offered to him, of an Union between the Churches of France and England.* Which *likeness* might possibly have passed with some people, if these *Authentic Copies* had never appeared. But where is the *likeness*, between a correspondence which was never begun, and a correspondence, authentic copies of which are in our hands? how could Archbishop *Wake* observe a like defect in *his* treaty, when he always understood the Archbishop of *Paris* to be, on the part of the Gallican Church, at the head of it? did he take *Du Pin*, *Girardin*, and the Doctors of the *Sorbonne*, for a few intemperate zealots? and did he treat them

⁹ Dr. *Du Pin* is a gentleman by whose labours I have profited these many years. And I do really admire how it is possible for one man to publish so much, and yet so correctly, as he hath generally with

with the *like prudence* and *caution* that Dr. *Tenison* observed towards *Grabe*, *Jablonski*, &c. in the other case.

3. "JABLONSKI," as the Biographer informs us, "took episcopal orders from the only two remaining old *Bohemian* bishops; he afterwards ordained Count *Zinzendorf* a bishop, and wrote to Dr. *Grabe* and Dr. *Smallridge*, about getting the episcopal order established in *Prussia*." I suppose the Biographer might mean by, *taking episcopal orders*, that *Jablonski* got himself made a bishop by these *Bohemians*, and then made another bishop, the same whose praise is in the churches of the *Moravians*. But, till the episcopal order was settled in *Prussia*, *Jablonski* was a bishop without a fee. Archbishop *Tenison* was probably aware of the cause of *Jablonski's* alacrity in soliciting an episcopal establishment for *Prussia*, and that would put his Grace upon a prudent reserve when the matter came to be proposed to him. The Biographer calls *Jablonski*, a *projecting reconciler*, and so it should seem he continued to the end; and finding that nothing could be made of an Union with the Church of *England*, he seems to have entertained a notion of uniting with the Church of *Rome*, at least he applied to Archbishop *Wake*

done." Archbishop *Wake* apud Dr. *MacLaine's* Supplement, p. 24.

for

for his judgement on that subject, as appears by the Archbishop's answer to his questions in N^o XXV of these *Authentic Copies*. I say this, upon the supposition that this is the same Dr. *Jablonski* who is mentioned as Dr. *Grabe's* coadjutor, in endeavouring to accommodate the *Prussian* church with the episcopal system of government. Dr. *MacLaine* calls him, Mr. JABLONSKI of *Poland*, meaning perhaps of *Polish Prussia*. Or perhaps they might be different men.

But if Archbishop *Wake's* correspondent was the same *Jablonski* mentioned in *Grabe's* article in the *Biographia Britannica*, I agree with Dr. *MacLaine*, that the Archbishop's Letter to him is *more peculiarly worthy of attention*, as his Grace must have known something of the man, from the report of his former conduct, and something too of the reasons why his immediate predecessor gave *Jablonski's Prussian* project no more encouragement. If the Biographer's account of him be just, one may safely rank *Jablonski* among the *temerarii* who proposed a league with the Church of *Rome*. Had *Jablonski* thought of the *proponents* in that light, he would not have wanted to consult any one upon the two questions he sent to the Archbishop. Unless we may suppose he was encouraged to propose them by some report of what had passed between his Grace and the Doctors of the *Sorbonne*, for, by
the

the time that the Archbishop's answer bears date, that transaction had got wind.

Had Archbishop *Tenison* been applied to for answers to the two questions proposed to Dr. *Wake*, I verily believe he would have gone no farther than Archbishop *Wake* has done in the first paragraph of his letter. There he would have stopped, after having given an *absolute negative* to the *first* question: and there too should Archbishop *Wake* have stopped, especially after the experience he had gained in his intercourse with the *Sorbonnists*. Who they were that furnished Dr. *MacLaine* with this answer of the Archbishop to *Jablonski*, I pretend not to guess. But belike they thought, that, by sending it into the world through his hands, they themselves would risque nothing, and that the Doctor's encomiums of it would be made at his own expence. For whatever Dr. *MacLaine* may have been told of the *English* clergy, the best and wisest and the soundest Protestants among them would detest a *pye-bald* Liturgy, in the use of which Protestants and Papists might join *lovingly* together in the same acts of religious worship; and would by no means think well of any of their brethren who should call an expedient of this kind, *a happy mixture of Protestant zeal and Christian charity*†.

† Supplement, p. 37.

4. I think it a piece of Dr. *Maclaine's* good fortune, that the account he mentions (p. 111. of his *Supplement*) "of the measures that were taken, and of the correspondence that was carried on, in the years 1711, 1712, and 1713, for the introduction of the Liturgy of the Church of *England* into the kingdom of *Prussia*, and the electorate of *Hanover*," did not fall into his hands, till *after* his foregoing sheets were printed off. There is mention made of Archbishop *Sharp's* concern in this business, in the latter end of Dr. *Richardson's* castrated account of it in the *Biographia Britannica*. I omitted it above, that I might insert it here. It is as follows :

" Verum hæc cunctatio Borussi animos
 " adeo non fregit, ut etiam acrius erexerit et
 " confirmaverit. Itaque per legatos Archiepif-
 " copum *Eboracensem* *, anno sc. MDCCXI, *cujus*
 " *tum apud Aulicos authoritas magis valere puta-*
 " *batur*, rei hujusce ecclesiasticæ curam sedulo
 " commendavit. Verum ne tum quidem quid-
 " quam profecit. Homines Aulici negotiis civi-
 " libus ita erant occupati et impediti, ut eccle-
 " siastica minus curarent : atque irrita prorsus
 " intercederunt pia Regis Borussi consilia, unde
 " tum ad religionem reformatam accederent sta-

* *Should it not be Archiepiscopo Eboracensi ?*

" bilitatis

“ bilitatis suæ præsidia, tum ad Ecclesiæ Angli-
 “ *cane* nova dignitatis amplificatæ ornamenta.”

With the contents of this small but curious work, presented to Dr. *MacLaine*, I am not wholly unacquainted, but for the present shall take the Doctor's *general* account of it in his *Advertisement*. I can hardly suppose that the worthy descendants of the pious and learned Archbishop *Sharp* would think, at this time of the day, of deriving any honour to their truly respectable ancestor, from the circumstance of his having more weight with the ministry of those three years than Archbishop *Tenison*, whose praise it is that he had so little with them. And if Archbishop *Sharp* was really a favourite with them, one may venture to say the scheme did not drop for want of the attention of the ministers ; for no set of men that ever were in their stations were more bent upon *amplifying the dignity of the Church of England* : hardly excepting Archbishop *Laud*'s lay coadjutors.

If one might hazard a conjecture, I should rather think, the project went on to the last, and was only defeated in the end, by the death of Queen *Anne*, the King of *Prussia*, and (if his Grace really espoused it, with the countenance of the ministry) of Archbishop *Sharp*, who all went off within a very little space of time. I am apt to believe that some better information
 might

might be had from this little book on this head, than Dr. *Richardson* could meet with in the year 1743.

I have ascribed it to Dr. *MacLaine's* good fortune that this book was not put into his hands till his Supplement was printed off. Several circumstances induced me to think so. It might have been expected of him that he should embellish this project with suitable colourings, as he hath done that of Archbishop *Wake*: and he might have taken his comments upon trust from such worthy and learned Divines as the *Letter-writer*, and the Continuator of *Godwin*, who would think they had no occasion to inform him, that it was the *amplifying* project of such men as *Atterbury*, *Bolingbroke*, and others of that stamp, for purposes of which I am willing to believe the good Archbishop *Sharp* was not aware.

Nor perhaps would it have been easy for Dr. *MacLaine* to have come at any satisfactory account of the occasion or views of exhibiting so singular a composition at the period when it was prepared. The world has been apprized for some time, that there is in being a Manuscript Life of Archbishop *Sharp*, ready for the Press, composed by his learned and excellent son, the late Archdeacon of *Northumberland*, of which these memoirs certainly make a part. Why are they

they, thus detached from the rest of the History? what circumstance is it which makes it unseasonable or inconvenient to publish the whole work, which did not incumber this morsel of it, when it broke from the rest? and was there any, and what, *necessity* to send this piece abroad as an *avant courier*, to make way for something which was to follow?

If my information is right, this little piece was in print some time before the late Archbishop *Secker's* decease, who had several copies of it in his possession, few of which were seen or known of till he was gone; nor was the public in general aware of the existence of such a composition, till Dr. *Maclaine* announced it at the end of his *Supplement*. The Doctor indeed calls it a *Publication*. But I cannot learn that it hath even yet undergone any of the formalities requisite to place it under that denomination.

May one venture another conjecture? All the world knows that a project has been often mentioned of late, of episcopizing our *American* colonies. Several sums have been bequeathed to be applied towards the accomplishment of it. The *Letter-writer* hath dropped, in passing, a slight *ichnography* of the plan, and is pretty large on the merits of it, towards the end of his pamphlet.

In Dr. *MacLaine's* Advertisement we are informed, that in this curious work there is, among other things, "an interesting *Plan of Ecclesiastical Discipline and Public Worship*, drawn up by the learned Dr. *Jablonsky*, and some other papers of the same author, concerning the nature of EPISCOPACY, and the manner of rendering it compatible with the interests of the Sovereign, and the religious liberty of the people."

Does not this look a little like a preparative for a new settlement of the same sort? I will not pretend to determine; and will only say, that if, in this unpublished Publication, there is any appearance of a coincidence of the old Plan with the new one, Dr. *MacLaine* was in high luck, in preventing the learned and worthy Divines in this country of his acquaintance, from putting JABLONSKI upon him a second time.

The following note should be inserted in page 21.

l. 18. after the words by his own rules:

Dr. Calamy, in answer to Dr. Walker, who represented Dr. Sanderfon as having been several times plundered, and reduced to great poverty, and in a very pitiful condition in 1658, informs us, that "A certain worthy clergyman of the Church of England (Mr. Stephens, of Sutton in Bedfordshire) gave him an account, that, to his knowledge, the Doctor was far from being reduced to any poverty in those times; nor was he in a pitiful condition in 1658. He lived, in as much plenty as the better sort of Clergy did, upon his Rectory, and maintained his children fashionably. His living was valued at 130 or 140 pounds *per Ann*; and he had money besides which did not lie dead. For though he did not put it out to interest in the ordinary way, which *he had written against*, yet did he dispose of it in a way really more advantageous to the lender, and sometimes to the borrower. For he would give 100 pounds for 20 pounds for seven years. This he thought lawful, but not the common way, which occasioned reflections from several on his casuistical skill. This, he [Mr. Stephens] said, was the common report; and one that was his agent in disposing of the money assured him of the truth of it." *The Church and the Dissenters compared as to Persecution*, p. 78, ed. 1727. Would not one think there had been *Pseudo-Waltons* in the last Generation, as well as in this?

P O S T S C R I P T.

WHILE the foregoing Papers were at the Press, there fell in my way a Book, intituled, *A short and safe Expedient for terminating the present debates about Subscription, occasioned by The Confessional*, wherein the right of private judgement is sufficiently vindicated, both by arguments, and authorities cited from several of the staunchest members of the Church of England, to justify even stronger conclusions against the present modes of Subscription, than the author of *The Confessional* hath ventured to draw from his own premisses. But this doth not at present concern me so much as the contents of a short section, beginning at p. 25. of this serious and important Tract, intituled, *A word to the disputants on both sides of the Question*, where, among other things, addressed by the author to the advocates for the cause of religious liberty, is the following passage :

“ If, in too much complaisance to your antagonists, you turn aside to join issue with them in points that are little or nothing to the purpose,

Q 2

“pose, how much stir soever they may make
 “about them, you will only remind us of *Ata-*
 “*lanta’s* stooping to pick up the golden apples,
 “designedly thrown in her way to retard her
 “course; and her ill success in so doing will
 “only give you the cold comfort to foresee, that
 “your own success, in the end, will be no bet-
 “ter, and, instead of strengthening, you will
 “weaken your own forces, and confirm those of
 “your adversaries.”

If this be the case, thought I, how idly must
 I have been employed in following the *Letter-*
writer through his detail of remarks on the *Pre-*
face, &c. which, if they were ever so well ground-
 ed, would only affect the author of *The Confes-*
sional as an historian not sufficiently exact or im-
 partial in his account of facts, or sufficiently
 accurate in his reflections upon them, without
 the least ill effect upon the cause he pleads! In-
 deed the *Letter-writer* himself seems to have had
 the same apprehension, when he announced, at
 the end of his first pamphlet, his farther opera-
 tions on the body of the book; conscious, it may
 well be supposed, that but few of his readers
 would be so far biased by his abusive strictures,
 as to take his bare word, that the argumentative
 part of *The Confessional* would fall of course, with
 the *personal* estimation of the author.

It may be said (I think the *Letter-writer* himself hath somewhere said it) that he was *led* into this invidious part of his task, by the contents of the *Preface* on which he remarks; in other words, *led* into it by the author himself.—That indeed he was *led* into this undertaking, I have little doubt; but am apt to believe it was more at his own option, whether he should be *led* into it by the author of *The Confessional* or not, than whether he should be led into it by another sort of influence.

Be all this as it may: if by saying, the adversaries of *The Confessional* were *led* to make so much *stir* about these *Bye-matters* by the author himself, it is meant that he should have dwelt less upon them, I must confess I am of another mind.

It should be considered, that many fruitless attempts having been made to induce the Governors in Church and State to review our public forms of doctrine, discipline, and worship, in order to such corrections as might seem more consonant to the original principles of the Protestant Reformation; it became quite necessary, upon any new *effort* of the same tendency, to shew what iniquitous measures had formerly been made use of, to stifle all approaches towards a farther Reform, and to expose the *duplicity* of the stifiers (several of whom, by the way, occasionally

nally espoused, as the worthy author of the *Expedient* hath proved by authentic citations from their works, the same principles with the author of *The Confessional*) when their conduct came to be compared with their professions; and to remind those whom it may concern, of the impropriety of following these wretched examples, at a period when we value ourselves on the encouragement given to freedom of examination, and when learned, judicious, and ingenuous men of all ranks and denominations appear to be heartily ashamed of the illiberal and selfish considerations, which influenced their narrow minded Predecessors to adhere with obstinacy to so many unedifying restraints upon Christian Liberty.

To counteract the impressions that so plain a state of this affecting case might make upon the readers of *The Confessional*, and to obviate the inferences that every man of common sense would naturally draw from it, arose the *Letter-writer* and some others of the like complexion, partly to defend, and partly to palliate, the persecutions of the *Whitgifts* and *Bancrofts*, and even of the *Lauds* and the *Sheldons* of former times; and, by ascribing to *Dissenters* in every period of our history the worst principles, and the worst designs, to terrify the present generation from the remotest endeavours to depart an hair's breadth from the present establishment.

And here begins my apology. It is true, these partial whitewashings on the one hand, and malevolent suggestions on the other, are *nothing to the purpose*, when set beside the principles on which it is reasonable to solicit a reformation. But greatly *to the purpose* with those who measure orthodoxy and heresy merely by established forms. And through all the canting pretensions of the Letter-writer to moderation and charity, it is easy to perceive his *purpose* is to hold up the authority of human establishments, as the *sole* standard of public judgement in matters of religion.

To expose therefore the futility, the sophistry, the misrepresentation, the hypocrisy, and falsehood of such writers, must contribute to the *success* of the advocates of Religious Liberty, at least in my apprehension, and if I rightly understand what the respectable author of the *Expedient* means by *success*: which, in my idea, is neither more nor less, than opening a way to an effectual removal of our ecclesiastical improprieties and incumbrances, which must ever remain where they are, and as they are, while the prejudices against reformation instilled into the public mind by such solemn dictators as our *Letter-writer* are suffered to take their course without opposition. For who, that is persuaded by such accounts as this man gives, that a reformation in our Church establishment

establishment was never proposed, but either by her false friends or her declared Enemies ; nor even obstructed but by the wisest and most upright of mankind ;—who, I say, that is thus persuaded, will be at the pains to study the controversy for a sort of satisfaction which they can come at with so much less trouble and expence of thought ?

If, by the word *success*, the worthy author of the *Expedient* means a decisive superiority of argument in debating the important question upon the original principles of the Protestant, or rather of the Christian religion, let him be in no pain that *the forces* of his friends are *weakened* by such deviations from the merits of the cause as some of us inferior penmen occasionally pursue. Let him look only to that eminent hand by which his own valuable *Expedient* was ushered into the world. The *Vindication of The Confessional, on the case of Subscription to human Articles of Faith*, is now completed, by the publication of the third part of the learned, accurate, and judicious Dr. BENJAMIN DAWSON'S Answer to *Letters concerning Established Confessions*, which, added to his former advantages gained in the course of this controversy, hath deprived three or four of the capital Sophisters in the nation of every subterfuge wherein to shelter their naked and baffled cause.

F I N I S.

